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"The Peculiar Institution."

From the [Courtland Village] True American,

A FUGITIVE'S STORY.

OCTOBER 19, 1845.

Some time since a colored man, while seeking his way to a land of freedom, guided by the North star, called on me to write a narrative of his travels from the land of whips and chains, until he reached this point in his journey, for the information of his master; and now feeling confident that ere this time he is out of the reach of the blood-hounds, and has reached a land of safety,—that feeling that there is more protection for him under the lion's paw than the eagle's wings, we will endeavor to relate the substance of it, as we took it down from his own mouth, viz: He said his name was Peter Smith.—He was born in the State of Tennessee, and he is now twenty-seven years of age, and belonged to a man by the name of Bryant Smith, who now lives in Ray county, State of Tennessee, who is sometimes called by the nickname of Mutt. He said that he had it on his mind for several years, to leave his master and seek his freedom; that even years ago, while his master was from home, to see some of his relatives at Chuckey, Jefferson county, Tennessee, he attempted to run away, but did not feel safe in so doing, at that time, and accordingly returned. He has married a second wife by the name of Amy Fraziers, who belongs to Nicholas Gibbs, and who resides six or seven miles from his master's plantation. All the opportunities he was allowed to visit his wife, was from Saturday night to Sunday night. His master was opposed even to that enjoyment; that he had passed a decree that if daylight caught him away on Monday morning, he should receive *one hundred lashes* on his bare back, and should not return again to see his wife; that on the 30th of June, 1845, while returning from his wife, on Monday morning, after daylight, anticipating his promised punishment, well knowing from experience what it was, and which the receipt on his back well shows, he turned to the woods and laid himself down and dropped to sleep, and slept about an hour. When he awoke he concluded from what he had dreamed that that was the time for him to make his escape from bondage, and accordingly arose and turned his face to the *North*, and commenced his perilous journey. He travelled unmolested that day, and at night met with colored friends, who took him in and sheltered him until morning, when he resumed his journey, being directed by his colored friends. He then travelled three days without anything to eat, and being driven by hunger, he ventured to take a piece of meat, and cutting his allowance off, he put the balance on a pole, and stuck the pole into a stump, out of the way of dogs, that the owner might get it again. He resumed his journey, and ventured to call at another house and inquire the way to a town. They suspected him of being a runaway, and attempted to take him, and presented a gun to his breast to intimidate him. He made his escape out at the door, and ran to the mountain, near by, and evaded them that time. He struck up a fire and dried his clothes which had got wet by a rain that day. He laid himself down, and slept until near day, when he was aroused by the noise of a whip-po-will. He arose and looked around, and discovered a man approaching. He immediately made ready to start, when the man ejaculated, "Now is the time, boys," and immediately gave chase, and as he ran, the man discharged a gun at him, but without effect, the ball or slug, passing by him into the bushes. Next came the dog, and pursued him very closely, for a short distance, on the side of the mountain, when he deceived the dog by starting a large stone down the side of the mountain, which the dog followed, and he saw him no more. He resumed his journey, and travelled all that day, and at night called at a house and begged again for victuals; got some, and continued his journey, until he discovered he had missed his way. He inquired, and was set right; but was here suspected of being a runaway, and was molested and compelled to flee, and loosing his provisions, and a fine hat, he was induced to return and endeavor to recover his hat by searching for it after the inmates were asleep, but searched in vain. He took a pair of new shoes instead, which served him a good purpose. He pursued his journey for several days unmolested, and without eating, until he again met with some colored friends, (slaves,) who gave him some victuals, and advised him to push forward; and, after travelling several days unmolested, he was again urged by hunger to beg subsistence, but soon apprehended danger, and turned away, and travelled on until he again found a colored friend, (a slave,) who gave him victuals. He here remarked that young slaves were not to be trusted—that they were more apt to betray the wanderer, and, therefore, he always chose the older ones for favors. He continued his journey again for several days, and when he came to a way-board path, would (if dark) climb the post, and read the directions; and, in one instance, (being dark,) he pulled the post out, and laid it down, read the direction, and set the post back in its place, found out he had missed his way, and went back a short distance, near a house, and hid himself in a briar patch, till seeing a colored girl he hailed her, and requested her to tell an old colored man who was near there, to come to him. Accordingly the old man came. He requested the old man to give him victuals, but he persuaded him to come to the quarters with him, for they were all slaves there, and get dinner, for he thought there was no danger. With reluctance he did, leaving his bundle at a distance from the house, so as not to be encumbered with it in case of danger. He went into the hut, and partook with them, but soon became uneasy, and went to the door, where a white man met him, seized him by the collar, and secured him with chains, and set a blood-hound to tend him until night, when he gave him in charge of his old slave until morning: and in case he should escape, the old man should receive more than one hundred lashes on his bare back. They were thrown into an old lumber house, and locked up. Besides he having a chain locked to one leg, the old slave taking the other end, put it between his legs, that he might guard it more securely. After the old man dropped to sleep, and before morning, he took the old man's knife from his pocket, and succeeded in picking the lock of his chain. He raised the floor with a harrow-tooth, and made his escape; but had reached but a small distance, when he heard the horn blow, and the blood-hound on his trail. He ran at full speed the distance of about six or eight miles, and came to a river. He stripped his clothes off, and fixed them on his head, and swam across. A short distance from the river he stopped, hoping they would give over pursuit, and feeling weary he laid down to rest; but had not lain long before he heard the blood-hound a short distance behind him. And being much alarmed, he leaped from his resting-place like a hare from its squat, and bounded through the woods with increased alacrity; compelled to fly in whatever direction he could best evade the blood-hound. They continuing the pursuit, he crossed the same river three times before he completely evaded the blood-thirsty dog. And he found himself in the field where he had been before which was about ninety-five miles distant from Mason and Dixon's line. But being much wearied, he was several days longer reaching it than he would otherwise have been.

But now he would inform his master, that it was his cruelty that induced him to undergo these hardships; but he would not return evil for evil. But if his master would come to Canada and visit him, he would treat him well, and give him an hospitable entertainment of a freeman. That when he should return home, he would be able to inform his mistress that slaves, if set free, could take care of themselves, and thereby prove to her that she was mistaken in supposing, as she often expressed, they would starve if set free. He also wishes to remind his master of the time that he beat him so unmercifully with a large oaken stick by the side of the crib, because, at that time he took the determination to leave him and seek his freedom; and now after a toilsome and hazardous journey, through the mercy of God, he can hold up his hands and pronounce the sentence, "I am a freeman!"

Pro-Slavery.

Extract from the New York Globe.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

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Another amendment, having relation to the right of suffrage, is proposed as follows: *To repeal that clause of the Constitution, which allows negroes, under certain circumstances, to vote.* This amendment is in affirmance of the principle that the question who shall exercise the civil power in a State, by voting, is not a question of right, but of expediency and policy. The existing Constitution, in effect, declares that it is impolitic and inexpedient to allow females, minors, aliens, persons convicted of infamous crimes, and negroes without property, to vote. Negroes ought not to be permitted to participate in the Government of this country, because their physical habits and mental debasement have marked them as unfit associates of the race of men to whom Providence has committed the Government of this country. This is exclusively, as we have already seen, a question of policy and expediency, and not of right. If our forefathers sinned in bringing these negroes amongst us, it is not our sin; and we may safely *repudiate that debt*, without the least imputation of moral delinquency. The idea that we are bound to admit them to share in the Government, as an atonement for the injury done to their fathers, by our colonial fathers, may be sufficient to move a fanatic for the accomplishment of that end, but not one who judges of the fitness of things on their own merits. Judging this main question on its merits, they ought not to be admitted to vote. The race of white men have an antipathy to the negro race, which excludes physical and social affinity. The bodily conformation, the color, the constitutional temperament, and the natural smell of the black man, are repulsive to the white man. Who made one man to differ from another? Who gave the negro his color, his mind, and his odor? and who made all these offensive to the white man? What God has put asunder, naturally, let not man put together.

Spurious philanthropists may raise an affected howl at this conclusion, and frighten the timid from their propriety. Let them howl, but let us be men. No more acceptable service could at this time be rendered true philanthropy, (by which we mean pure Democracy,) than separating it entirely from the Fanaticism, Fourierism, and the Abolitionism of the age. It is the mission of Democracy to teach mankind the true philosophy of improvement by means approved by common sense; and now is the day, and now is the hour to drive from our midst all kinds of fanaticism, social, political, or complexional. Let all visionary theorists and transcendental demagogues be driven out of the Democratic camp, and let us "PRESS ONWARD" in the spirit of a true and national philosophy.

From the Louisville Times.

THE LOUISVILLE JOURNAL—ITS POSITION—THE DUTY OF LOUISVILLE TOWARD IT.

The Lexington Gazette thus notices our remarks in reference to the effects of the abolitionism of the Journal, and its attacks on the medical college in Lexington:

"We assure the Louisville Times that our notice of the number of convicts sentenced to the Penitentiary at the last term of the Jefferson Circuit Court, originated in no ill will to that city, but was intended merely as a sportive remark, addressed to the editor of the Times. It is no doubt true that the remarks of the Journal in relation to the removal of C. M. Clay's office, grossly misrepresenting the conduct of our citizens—its open avowal of abolition sentiments, and its repeated, false, and furious attacks upon our Medical School, have considerably irritated many of our citizens, but we believe that their resentment is mainly confined alone to the author.

We lived some years in Louisville, and perfectly understood that a majority of the names which swell her criminal calender, belong to transitory persons—the rogues and swindlers who make Louisville their half-way house, in passing up and down the river in search of plunder."

The slave interest of Kentucky is identified with the same interest, paramount to all other, throughout the whole South. *Louisville* interests are identified with those of the State at large. The interests, therefore, of Louisville, the great *commercial emporium*, on the Ohio, of the *slave States*, is identified by this slave interest, with the whole South. These are bonds of union which no man, or set of men, can sever.

Under these circumstances, Louisville can harbor no Abolitionists within its limits. It must stand free from all suspicion on this subject. Not only do the commercial interests of the city require this, but the peace of our citizens, the peace of the State, and even the respectability and character of Louisville itself require it.

Since the day on which the Journal put forth its abolition manifesto, this city stands attainted in the eyes of every State in the Union. Such is its present position, that the Abolitionists of the North, have a right to believe it to be ready, whenever the time may come, to aid their efforts for the abolition of Slavery, throughout the Union. The slave States have a right to view it as a traitor to Southern and slaveholding interests, and especially to these interests in Kentucky.

How stand the facts in the case? Without an exception, we believe that every press in the State, except the Journal, has denounced the movement towards abolition in this State, and most of them have approved of the proceedings at Lexington. Very many, perhaps all the important counties in the State, Jefferson included, have held meetings, denouncing the agitation of this Slavery question, and approving the proceedings at Lexington. Under all this array of public opinion, Louisville stands silent, and not only that, but continues a liberal support to a paper that has done all it dare do, in support of abolition, proclaimed the people of Lexington to be mobocrats, and in the present control of its senior editor is believed by most, to be an abolition journal in disguise.

Under these circumstances, we ask our citizens the serious question, what must necessarily be the opinion entertained by the people of the State, in reference to Louisville. We appeal to the common sense of any man, whether the circumstances do not justify the opinion, that, if not positively an abolition city, it is at least the aider and abettor of abolition? We appeal to such of the newspaper press throughout the State as may think proper to express an opinion, whether these views of the character of the Journal, and of the position of this city, are not those entertained by the people of the State at large? We further submit respectfully to the press, whether it is not the *duty* of each paper, under existing circumstances, to express an opinion on these points.

The discussion of this Slavery question has not yet fairly commenced. It is about to be forced upon the consideration of Congress in several forms.—*First*, in the admission of States to be erected out of the territory of Texas.—*Second*, in the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. *Third*, in the interdiction of the Slave-Trade between the States; and *Fourth*, in an amendment of the Constitution of the United States, depriving the slave States of their slave representation in Congress.

Upon all these exciting questions, what will probably be the course of the Louisville Journal? As the leading paper of the State will it represent the opinions of the leading men of the State? We presume no one conversant with the opinions of the Journal, and its general course during the past ten years, believes it will. Its own peculiar opinions the people of this city will not support it in propagating. Neutral it cannot be. Louisville, as the great commercial city of Kentucky, cannot be neutral. She must take her stand on one side or another, and her views must be known. Her recognized organ in this city must proclaim, and maintain those views. Will the Journal do this? No one believes it. Nor can the Journal, under any circumstances, again become the exponent of the opinions of the people of Kentucky.

It is, then, a consideration of some moment for the citizens of Louisville, whether they are not seriously injuring their own interest, and the character of the city abroad, by supporting a paper on which the suspicions of the entire State fall so heavily. It is not yet too late, and it is the incumbent duty of this city to hold a public meeting, renouncing abolitionism in all its forms; approving the proceedings of the people of Lexington, and making the relinquishment of the editorial chair by George D. Prentice, a condition of their continued support to the Louisville Journal.

We hope the Press of the State will speak out. We wish our citizens to know what the opinion of the State is, as to the *position occupied by Louisville*, on this abolition subject. We suppose that if our beautiful city stood just across the river, there would be but one opinion. The fact of its being in Kentucky, and not in Indiana, we presume, saves it from being stamped as an abolition city by the people of the State.

The Long Island Railroad.—The winter arrangements of the Company having control of this road give cause of general dissatisfaction. In the summer season, separate cars are provided for negroes who have occasion to travel on the road. At present negroes of all kinds and descriptions are huddled in the same cars with ladies and gentlemen. Last week a circumstance occurred which requires some public notice. The cars were excessively crowded, and, like Mosaic pavement, black spots were distinguished ingeniously and compactly woven in with the white, and one of the black spots obscenely intoxicated. The fault is not with the conductor, Mr. Smith, who is a most gentlemanly man; but with the direction, and we call upon the company to make the necessary change. The travelling community expect it.—*Globe.*

Selections.

From the True American.

COURAGE—ON.

Many of our friends *in Kentucky* have manifested some alarm, and no little fear, at the success and concentrated power of the slavocracy. We have heard both expressed. We have seen both clearly enough in the *action* of hundreds whose tongues wagged not a word.

There *is* no cause for either. We have stood the brunt of the battle,—have been in its hottest fire—have felt *all* its strength—yet here we are "alive and kicking," and working with a lustier sinew, and stouter heart for human liberty. And *not* in vain. From all classes—from the master with rich lands, to the poor tenant of the barren knobs,—we hear spoken in quiet places, the word of encouragement—the "God bless you," and "speed on the work;" and *now* and *then* a brave spirit, unused to concealment, and despising subterfuge, sends out the manly and cheering annunciation—"I am with you—struggle on—struggle ever for freedom."

Friends must bear in mind one or two facts, when determining *their course* on the question of Slavery. And the first fact is this:

That the slavocracy have already exerted their whole strength, and gone to the length of their tether.

The law gives no encouragement to violence. It frowns upon every act of lawlessness; yet without such acts of lawlessness, slave owners saw that they must be beaten on their own turf—that a free Press and Slavery could not stand together—and that therefore, their only hope was, to inflame public sentiment, and render it so rabid, as to justify them in taking the law in their "own" hands. For this, they obtained a partial success. But the effort required the use of such artificial means—the application of so much unnatural stimulus—that now, when the despotic deed is done, and the law trampled upon, they are powerless—"used up"—palsied by that kind of reaction which the drunkard feels, and exhibits, when the effects of the liquor are passing off. There may be *throes* of threatened violence again;—they will prove *spasms* merely. The energy to do is gone, and the community as a whole, everywhere, is sore on the subject of mobs, and anxious, at heart, that free constitutional discussion should be maintained, and the subject of Slavery as freely mooted as any other. Why else the debates in lyceums and schools? Why else the zeal of debating societies in our towns and villages? Wherefore, otherwise, the long arguments, and written communications, which we have in pamphlet, tract, and newspaper? Whence, too, Scripture discussion as to how far Holy Writ justifies Slavery? All is working well. The spirit of society is pent up; that's all; by and by it will ooze out, as a spring from the mountain side, and flow on, until mingling with other rills so formed, from the same central feeder, it becomes a deep and buoyant stream, able to bear up, and on, upon its glorious bosom, in steady progress, the great truths of freedom to all, and humanity to man.

The second fact we notice is this:

That the slavocracy resort to every means to annoy and terrify those who speak against Slavery, and thus to suppress, through an unsound public opinion, all discussions or talk about it.

Every Kentuckian knows what we mean. We see it exemplified most beautifully around us. A man takes the True American; one of the leaders of the pro-slavery party meets him, and says, "I have contradicted a report I heard to-day—it is said you take the True American—I have denied that you have any connection with that incendiary print." He goes on. By and by this man hears it whispered in the neighborhood that he is not as sound as he ought to be on the subject of Slavery. He goes to church or attends a public meeting, and sees that men watch him. He knows that they are talking about him. And then some friend comes and tells him the truth. "You are suspected—I heard this and that good man say so and so of you. You are set down as the worst sort of an Abolitionist." Again another citizen, no subscriber to the True American, but an honest and out-spoken man, tells what he thinks about Slavery. Where's the harm? He knows the bad effects of it upon himself. Besides that he has boys and girls growing up, and he sees how it is working eternal ill upon them. And he says as father, and patriot should say, on the grounds of interest and duty,—"I wish to rid myself of the cursed evil—it weighs me down—it endangers the hope and stay of my family—it prostrates the State. I must write against it." The words are spoken. They go forth far and near. Some for love of the slavocracy catch them up, and in some public place—innocently ask,—"Is it true that Farmer A. or Mr. B. holds certain doctrines?—I have heard worse things said of them—but I don't believe them—yet good men told me. I have heard that they "went" against Kentucky, and were, in secret, Abolitionists." And, as in the former case, rumor puts her boots on, and with whip and spur, spreads all sorts of hard things in the country about Mr. A. and Mr. B. Then comes petty annoyances so hard to be withstood.—The whisper—the lifting the finger in scorn—the nameless, unspeakable look of suspicion—the endeavor to make a man feel alone among men—these follow, that, through an unseen despotism, citizens should not dare breathe out their honest thoughts on the subject of Slavery. But this despotism cannot last always. Slavocrats will tire using it. It is too forced—too unnatural—too grossly unjust to endure long, or be practiced with success generally; all that is wanted *to put it down*, is *courage*. Speaking out will master it. Meeting it front to front will strip naked its cloaked deformity, and drive it from the haunts of civilized society. And this determination is growing. Hotspurs on the side of the slavocrats are met, at many points, by deliberate and argumentative farmers; fanatics among them are opposed by the quiet courage of the Christian; and the boldest of the despots *subdued* by men who calculate, and are governed by considerations of interest. It needs only, then, that some eight or ten men in each county of the State, should clutch this monster, Slavery—depict and expose it—call it by its right name—to scatter these petty annoyances, as the wild winds scatter chaff, and leave every citizen at liberty to speak and to hear whatever may be said, for or against Slavery.

Courage, then, friends; with faith in God, and faith in man, and the enthusiasm which such faith inspires—our cause—the cause of liberty and emancipation—must progress. Nothing can check it. The only danger, indeed, to be apprehended is, that those who are for liberty and emancipation should prove lukewarm or remiss. If they do their duty—if, in this crisis, they meet their foes with patience and perseverance—they cannot be defeated. Ours is no one day struggle. It is to be no battle of five or ten years even. The interests at stake—the prejudices to be met and overcome—the political influences of the day—the want of a high moral tone in the public mind—and the apathy of the Church as a whole—will satisfy thinking minds, of the correctness of this conclusion. But what are a few years spent in behalf of liberty, but time devoted to the best and highest good of the individual and society? What the patience and perseverance manifested in this cause, but the loftiest training for private and public advancement? We are in high hope. Yet immediately around us we have few, comparatively, who sympathize with us; while the social power is exerted in the most despotic way to prostrate us and the cause. But from other parts of the State, we have the most cheering accounts—accounts which lead us to assert most positively that every influence, connected with the best interests of Kentucky, is deepening the public conviction as to the necessity of emancipation. Let our friends, then, go to work in earnest;—let them be known as the fast friends of freedom in their different neighborhoods—let them circulate tracts, newspapers, pamphlets, and whatever else may spread light on the subject—and in a few years we shall have—not merely the subject of Slavery discussed as freely as any other subject—but emancipation declared to be the duty of Kentucky.

From the Morning (Kingston, Jamaica) Journal.

COOLIE IMMIGRATION.

In the House of Assembly, on Friday last, Mr. Leslie, who is, to some extent at any rate, an advocate for Coolie immigration, is reported thus to have spoken:—"Would any man say that if we were to lose the protection of the Mother-country" (which catastrophe he had already declared will assuredly befall us, from the inevitable fact that the British Government must respond to the cry of free trade,) "the planters here can longer afford to pay one-and-sixpence (for labor) a-day? no, they cannot; this is a pill which, gild it as he may, cannot go down."—This assertion affords one of the strongest arguments which could possibly be advanced against the Coolie immigration scheme. It in fact asserts that the people of this country, at the very moment they are indoxing these unhappy persons to quit their native land and to emigrate to our shores, are conscious that they will be unable to fulfil the terms offered as an inducement for them to come here; or, if faith is to be kept with them, it must be at the public cost, and not at that of their immediate employers. The question stands thus. It is agreed with the Coolie, before he embarks for Jamaica, that he shall receive in money wages one shilling per day, and certain allowances, such as medical attendance, medicines, rice, &c. &c. which at the very lowest calculation cannot amount to less than sixpence per day; therefore the agreement is, that the Coolie shall receive either in coin or in kind, one shilling and sixpence per day, and it is understood that whatever arrangements may ultimately be agreed upon to meet the expenses of their transport from India to Jamaica, and their return at the expiration of five years,—the party who employs them, *id est*, the planter, shall, at all events, defray the charges for their daily labor while in the Island; and yet we have a member, by no means an uninfluential one, and one well versed in the science of mathematical demonstrations—the chairman also of the Commissioners of Accounts, and therefore one who ought to be a shrewd calculator, at the very time—nay, within the very hour that he has urged upon the House to enter into contract with these people, that they shall have one shilling and sixpence per day, gravely telling us that the planters will not be able to pay that amount of wages to laborers. We know not what name to give such a transaction when the contracting parties are the Legislature of the Island, and the ignorant people of a heathen nation, but we know that in private transactions between man and man in this country, it would be called contracting debts without probable means of satisfying them—nay, with the knowledge that the debtor would be unable to liquidate those debts; and such conduct would subject the fraudulent debtor to imprisonment.

But we will, for one moment, suppose that no specific sum is fixed upon as the price of the Coolies' daily labor, but that he comes here to accept the best offer that is made. Still Mr. Leslie's assertion affords a strong argument against bringing these people here to starve: for he says that the planters will not be able to pay one-and-sixpence a-day for labor; and it has been admitted on all hands that even the native laborer, with all his advantages, cannot live on less. Even Messrs. Thompson and Whitlocke admitted this last year; both those gentlemen having declared they did not desire to see the laborers working for less than two shillings; all they required was a fair day's work for that money. Now, we need scarcely ask Mr. Leslie, after the examination taken before Mr. Geddes' Committee, and the Report based upon that examination, whether the Coolies do, or do not give a fair day's work, and consequently whether they are not entitled to a fair day's pay. If therefore the native laborer cannot live on less than one shilling and sixpence, how can it be expected that the Coolies can live upon less? They cannot; and if the planter is not able to afford him this sum, however we may lament his deplorable state, we must say, it will be unjust—nay, it will be cruel, to bring these people here to starve.

While on the subject of Coolie Immigration, we may make a remark or two on the Report from Mr. Geddes' Committee to inquire into the working of the Coolies already imported. In that Report, we find this assertion:—

"It is very satisfactory to the committee to be able to say the testimony of the different witnesses concur in representing these persons as docile, obedient, and ready at all times to perform *any work* that may be required of them, while the wages they have received, the health and comfort they have enjoyed, and the good understanding existing between them and their employers, and also between them and the native laborer, have produced much contentment, and an inclination, on the part of some, to remain permanently in the Island; the probability that they will do so being strengthened by the facts of their having expressed a wish to cultivate lands on their own account for the production of corn and provisions."

Now, one of the strong arguments advanced by the advocates for Coolie immigration is, that though the country will be put to some expense in bringing them here, the amount so expended will, in some measure, be returned to the Island Treasury in the shape of duties on the articles consumed by them, in food, such as rice, &c.; but if the above statement be true, and we have no reason to doubt it, then the whole of that argument is upset, for it appears that the Coolies will resort to our native productions, upon which no duty is paid. While this upsets the argument in favor, it affords one against Coolie immigration, for if they "cultivate lands on their own account, for the production of corn and provisions," they will cease to be dependent on their employers; and what guarantee have we that they will not shortly become independent squatters, as our native peasantry are said to have become, and depend upon "the almost spontaneous production of a grateful soil," which they will reap for themselves, instead of accepting one and sixpence per day, or, according to Mr. Leslie, a less sum, for hard work in endeavoring to force an unfriendly soil to yield an increased production for the benefit of another. Should they do this, then will the Coolie immigration only result in an increase of the number of squatters, which are now said to be the curse of the country.

Verily, some of our Jamaica politicians are wise in their own generation. They first involve themselves in a whirlpool of confusion, and then, in endeavoring to avoid Scylla, they rush into Charyobis.

From the National Intelligencer.

THE OREGON QUESTION.

SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO.

Mr. Giddings said that, owing to the difficulty which he had experienced heretofore in obtaining the floor, he was induced to avail himself of his present position to indicate the considerations that would govern him in voting for the resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs. It is due to myself (said Mr. G.) to say, that, in a former Congress, I was opposed to terminating the joint occupancy of Oregon. That vote was given under the circumstances which then surrounded us. Now we are placed in a totally different position. Since this subject was before us our Union has been changed in its essential elements, and its fundamental principles have been overthrown. The Union founded by our fathers has been subverted, and a new slaveholding Confederacy has been formed, giving to the Southern portion the balance of power, and subjecting the free labor of the North, the dearest rights of the free States, to the tender mercies of a slaveholding oligarchy. They now have the entire direction of the Government. The people of the free States have been politically bound hand and foot, and delivered over to the slaveholding interest, and it is now worse than mockery to talk of maintaining the manufacturing interests of Pennsylvania or of New England. They are now under the inexorable power of the South.

This, then, is our situation, as we are all perfectly conscious. The nation has been plunged without my aid into this condition, but against my will. I have believed, and still believe, that this policy of acquiring territory must inevitably, if carried out, subvert the Government and dissolve the Union.

Mr. Chipman called Mr. G. to order, and was understood to say that to speak of the dissolution of the Union was irrelevant, and was throwing a firebrand into the House.

Mr. Giddings proceeded. I was stating our present situation, and the liability of this new Union to fall asunder from its own weight, when this system of extension shall be carried out. And it is under these circumstances that I am called to express my opinion of the proposed policy. I am led to the conclusion, to the irresistible conclusion, that war, with all its horrors and its devastation of public morals, is infinitely preferable to a supine, inactive submission to the slaveholding power, that is to control this nation, if left in its present situation.

I wish to be distinctly understood that I have seen enough of war to form an opinion of its effects, its miseries, and the extent of its curse. Yet, Sir, I greatly prefer them, for a few years, to the quiet apathy which has already subjected us to a change of the Government formed by our fathers.

Here I will take occasion to say, that I differ from my venerable friend from Massachusetts as to the probability of war. I am of opinion that if we take the whole of Oregon, it will produce war. I say this, although I have heretofore, in nine cases out of ten, found myself mistaken when I have differed from that venerable statesman. The consequences of a war have not escaped my consideration.

It must inevitably produce great destruction to the commercial wealth of New England. Here let me say to the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Winthrop,) who the other day made so eloquent an appeal in favor of peace, and who represents the commercial interests of that State, that I fully appreciate his motives and feelings. But, Sir, this situation is one of his own choice. He was among the first distinguished men of that State who gave in his adherence to the change of Government, and the leading commercial men of Boston were the first in that State to declare their submission to this new slaveholding confederation with Texas. This was done with a full knowledge of the policy which had been adopted of extending our territory. That State had declared her people under no obligation to unite with Texas in consequence of any action of Congress. I then held, and still hold, the action of this Government imposed no obligation upon my State, either political or moral, to enter into this new Confederacy. No, Sir, if she come into it, as she will, it will be the choice of our people, and not from any obligation resting upon her by reason of the joint resolutions of Congress. And, if my colleagues coincided with me in opinion, no Representative from Ohio would retain a seat in this Hall beside those of Texas, upon such terms as have been imposed upon us. But the gentleman from Massachusetts voluntarily preferred to have his State become a party to this new union. I hope the people of that old Commonwealth did not intend, in going into it, to stop this policy of adding territory to our present Confederacy. They could not have desired to remain under the despotic sway of the slave power. They must have expected that the balance of power was to be restored by the addition of territory at the North to counterbalance Texas. They ought not now to oppose the regaining of those rights which have been voluntarily surrendered by the North. And this destruction of their wealth will be merely the legitimate consequence of their submission to the proposed policy. But, Sir, the manufactures of New England, and New-York, and Pennsylvania, will be promoted by a war. The agricultural interests of the West will not be likely to suffer. Indeed, our principal burden will not be the defence of ourselves, or the taking of Canada; but the protection of the South—the weak, helpless, slaveholding South. That portion of the Union must suffer most. I have seen the horror manifested by Southern papers. The cotton interest, say they, must of course suffer. Slave labor will be rendered worthless, and slave property depreciated. True; but this policy of adding territory to our original Government is the off-spring of the South. They have forced it upon the Northern Democracy. The objects of the South are now answered. Texas is admitted. They have attained their ulterior designs, and they now require the party to stop short, to face about, and leave the power of the nation in their hands. They now see before them the black regiments of the West India Islands landed upon their shores. They now call to mind the declaration of British Statesmen, that "a war with the United States will be a war of emancipation." They now see before them servile insurrections, which torment their imaginations. Murder, Rapine, and Blood, now dance before their affrighted visions. Well, Sir, I say to them:—This is your policy, not mine. You have prepared the cup, and I will press it to your lips until the very dregs shall be drained!

Let no one misunderstand me. Let no one say that I desire a slave insurrection; but, Sir, I doubt not that hundreds of thousands of honest and patriotic hearts will "laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh." No, Sir; should a servile insurrection take place—should massacre and blood mark the footsteps of those who have for ages been oppressed, my prayer to God shall be that *justice—stern, unyielding, and unalterable justice, may be awarded to the master and to the slave.* Then, Sir, we shall have the scenes of 1780 again acted over, when South Carolina sent to the Continental Congress a delegation to inform that body that it required all her troops to protect her people against their slaves, and that that chivalrous State must depend on her Northern sisters for troops to defend her against the common enemy. Then, Sir, the people of Ohio will be compelled to go to the South, to Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi, and Texas, to protect them from the emancipated slaves of the West Indies, and the desperation to which their own servile population will be driven. Sir, our sons must go there and bare their breasts in defence of the slave institutions of those States.—Then, Sir, the people of the North will be compelled to look this institution in the face; they will see the degradation to which they have become subjected by this *new slaveholding Confederacy.*

And, Sir, no twelve hundred thousand dollars will be likely to be paid to Southern slaveholders by the British Government for the purpose of obtaining peace. But, Sir, there is one vast and important consideration that ought not to escape my notice.—A war with England, in the present state of the two nations, must inevitably place in our possession the Canadas, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Six States will be added to the Northern portion of the Union, to restore the balance of power, surrendered up by the Annexation of Texas. This, Mr. Speaker, is the policy declared by the party now controlling this nation, at their Baltimore Convention. I say to them, *carry out that policy!* I demand of them not to leave the nation in its present state of subjection to the slaveholding oligarchy of the South. I will vote to give them the means of doing so. But, Sir, I am bound to say that I believe the Northern Democracy to have been betrayed. Their Southern slaveholding allies will now desert them. We see them in every part of the Hall begging and beseeching Whigs and Democrats to save them from this dread policy, which is to prostrate Southern interests and involve them in blood and massacre. A master-spirit of the South has left his retirement and taken his position in the other end of this Capitol, with the open and avowed purpose of defeating the identical policy, the promotion of which occupied his whole intellect only twelve months since. It remains to be seen whether he is able to control the nation.

Sir, should the measure be carried through Congress, I say to Northern Democrats that the Executive will save the institutions of the South from the apprehended danger of a war with England. Yes, Sir, I verily believe that he will surrender up all that portion of Oregon lying North of the forty-ninth parallel of latitude, rather than hazard the dangers of a war. Yes, gentlemen, be assured he will do it; and, in my opinion, he will effect it before the day proposed by the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs for discussing this resolution. Let no man misapprehend or misrepresent me. I say, this policy is not mine. I have at times opposed it. I am still convinced that its consequences are destructive to our Government. But it has been forced upon us, and those who have adopted it are responsible. I wash my hands from all participation in it; but I prefer that they should carry it out, rather than leave us where we are. When this policy shall be fully carried out, it will leave the North and the South in the enjoyment of something like equal advantages. And when, from its broad extent, this Republic, like the Roman Empire, shall fall asunder of its own weight, the free States will stand redeemed from the foul contagion of Slavery which now rests upon them.

From the Boston Journal.

HAITI.

MR. SLEEPER:—Since the return of Mr. Hogan from his secret mission to St. Domingo, a strong disposition has been manifested to learn the result of his researches.

The Washington correspondents of several Northern journals, with a view of gratifying curiosity, have drawn largely upon what they understand to be the substance of his report. These communications have given an impression that a splendid arrangement for "*mutual benefit*" is nearly completed with the eastern part of St. Domingo. One writer expresses surprise that Mr. Hogan should have found in that region a population of 190,000, including 130,000 whites.

His astonishment is certainly natural, for the majority of those 190,000 are men in buckram suits and Kendal green.

According to the census taken in 1825, the Eastern division contained less than 65,000, all told; at this moment it may possibly number 80,000, including 5, or 6,000 whites.

Another writer, in alluding to the mission, luxuriates upon the idea of *annexing the whole island.*—He considers it the most delightful country which the sun has shone upon since the Garden of Eden went out of cultivation, and descants philosophically upon the three hundred millions of pounds of coffee which we might wring out of its soil. But before we proceed to acknowledge the independence of the Dominicans, or to reckon the precise value of three hundred millions pounds of coffee, perhaps it may be well to turn over a few pages of the checkered history of St. Domingo, and learn something of the relations which subsist between the parties.

Possibly nothing injurious may immediately grow out of this tampering with the enemies of a friendly foreign power; but that an effort will be made hereafter to carry out the views of the secret agent, there exists not a doubt.

In the absence of a stronger arm, (which might, perhaps, draw a "shining blade for Greece," but decline a cause not tinged with romance,) we dip our "tea-spoon in Niagara," and proceed to notice briefly some of the peculiarities which mark this business, and a few of the calumnies and misrepresentations which have been circulated in relation to an unoffending Government, and a harmless and afflicted people.

In the first place, there is no ground for the common opinion, that the Dominicans were originally annexed to the Government of the French part—against their consent. It is not true that they were conquered, beaten down, trampled upon, and crushed, before they were united with the Haïtians; the very reverse of all this was the case, as we shall attempt to show.

In 1821, at the time of Christophe's death, Boyer was called to the Presidency by the united voices of the Haïtians. At that period, the Spanish part of the Island was independent, but its situation was most precarious. The war between Spain and her revolted provinces in South America was at its height, and the Columbian privateers which thronged the Caribbean seas were continually plundering the people along the shores of the Spanish part; moreover, there were many persons in that division of the Island who were inclined to favor an union with the *patriots* of South America—but by far the greater number opposed this suggestion. Such was the state of things at the commencement of Boyer's Government. After maturely reflecting upon the difficulties by which they were surrounded, the feeble Government in the Spanish part sought protection in an union with the Haïtians, and Boyer was formally solicited by them to grant his consent to the annexation of the Eastern part to the Republic of Haïti. The request was complied with, and the Eastern portion became a part and parcel of that Republic, as much so as Massachusetts now is of this Union. Thus it appears that the Dominicans adopted the Haïtian Government not only *voluntarily*, but *joyfully*. Shortly after this, the French (with an overwhelming force in the harbor of Port-au-Prince) demanded an indemnity for the property sacrificed in the Revolution. The people of the country had "supped full of horrors," and Boyer, to prevent farther bloodshed and destruction of property, agreed to the payment of 150,000,000 of francs; the independence of Haïti was then acknowledged by France and other European powers. A vigorous attempt was made to obtain a similar acknowledgment from the United States, but the interest of slaveholders prevailed against it, and nothing was effected.

About three years since, Herard was elected President of the Island. This was the signal, to the Spanish part, for a separation from the legitimate Government, and they declared themselves independent of it. It does not appear that this movement was caused by the election of Herard, or from a conviction that his course would be a bad one—for what his policy would be was not known. It proved, however, disastrous enough, although some of his worst acts were consequent upon the rebellion, and not the cause of it; still it has been urged by many that Herard's impolitic course was the great cause of

discontent. If it were so, it may be asked why Guerrier and Pierrot, his successors and opposites in everything, have been unable to induce the revolters to return to their allegiance?

About two years since, agents were despatched by the Dominicans to our Government, for aid of some sort—the application was coldly received by Mr. Upshur, which, considering the influences by which he was surrounded, was somewhat remarkable. After the death of Mr. Upshur, the application was renewed, and the nullifiers of the Spanish part found a kindred spirit in Mr. Calhoun, the successor of Mr. Upshur. To Mr. Calhoun belongs the distinguished honor of sending a secret agent to a small, discontented portion of another republic, to ascertain whether the dissolution of an union, contrary to the constitution of the country, and in opposition to nine-tenths of its inhabitants, was an act which this Government ought to encourage, in order to prove that blacks are not competent to maintain their rights, even in their own country, *if indeed they are supposed to have any rights anywhere.* To be sure, we are told of the advantages to be derived from a *trade* with the 80,000 Dominicans, provided we acknowledge her independence—but who believes this to have been an incentive to our Government in this movement? The commerce of our country has long had little of its care—had it been otherwise, millions of dollars might have been saved in our trade, by making the slight concession to the Haïtian Government which was asked for during the administration of General Jackson. It is notorious that for the last twenty-four years, goods imported into Haïti in American vessels, have been subject, and have actually paid, an extra duty of ten per cent. beyond that charged by vessels of other nations. The interest of the country has been thus sacrificed to gratify the refined notions of our Southern brethren. "Aristocratic England" could acknowledge the independence of Haïti, and by so doing, compass an immense trade, which naturally belonged to us—but "Democratic America" had "*a peculiar institution*"* to which the commerce of the country was made subservient. Does any one imagine the prospect of future business with eighty thousand Dominicans induced the secret mission?—Why, an untrammelled trade with one million of Haïtians, under a regular Government, has not been deemed worthy of the slightest consideration. But we are told that the Haïtians are cruel, blood-thirsty, and barbarous—Christophe is often held up as an evidence of the fact. It is true that the Black Chief was a great rascal—so was Napoleon, in about the same way; the former, however, merely sprinkled the avenue to his citadel in blood, to perpetuate his rule in his *own country*, whilst the latter waded through seas of slaughter to subjugate other nations. Napoleon was the most popular man, for it is a grand and *philanthropic* truth, that

"One murder makes a villain—
Millions a hero."

The Haïtians universally hold in utter detestation the memory of the *villain;* whilst the refined French almost forget Heaven in the remembrance of the *hero.*

The successor of Christophe, as has been stated, was Boyer, the first President of the Island. It does not suit those who consider a colored Republic an anomaly, to speak of his Government. The truth is, that, during his administration of twenty years, there was less taking of responsibility on the part of the Executive, less corruption amongst the officers, less plundering of the treasury, and a more hearty contempt for repudiation, than was seen in this country during the same period. Why, then, it may be asked, has not the Island prospered in a greater degree? Why is not the French indemnity entirely paid? Let it be remembered that the country has suffered, in many ways, from its efforts to meet its obligation to the French honorably. They did not over estimate their ability at the time the debt was contracted; but, since that period, the produce of the Island has declined, in value, at least two-thirds. Moreover, the losses, (both public and private,) by fires, in the principal towns, have been immense. Added to these, the earthquake of 1842 deluged and destroyed the Cape, and nearly every other town in the North. These calamities could not all have been avoided. The President might, perhaps, have checked the decline in coffee throughout the world, and forbade the fires; but he could not veto the earthquake.

On the score of indolence the Haïtians may be justly chargeable, but in no greater degree than the inhabitants of the other Islands. We must not go within the tropics, amongst the children of the sun, to find the characteristics of the New Englander and the Scotchman. It is very true that the capitalists of Haïti have not been taxed to the utmost; the resources of such countries never are fully developed by voluntary labor. How much rice would the Carolinians "*wring*" from their swamps with their *own hands?*

As regards the other, and more important attributes of the people, in the interior, (who have been denounced as "blood-thirsty barbarians,") it may safely be affirmed that the peasantry of the Island, particularly in the north, will compare favorably with the cultivators of any country, for mildness, hospitality, and freedom from vice. Their opportunities, however, for religious and moral teaching have been slender—circumstances have deprived them of these blessings, except in a very limited degree.

Our missionaries have gladdened nearly every benighted spot

"From Greenland's icy mountains
To India's coral strand."

But it is a melancholy fact that Haïti has been overlooked. A million people at our very door-stone have been permitted to grope in comparative darkness.† How far this neglect is to be attributed to the contemptuous tone of our Government towards these Islanders, may be inferred by those who are familiar with American missionaries.

In the present state of things, a manifest disposition on the part of the United States to aid the Dominicans would lead to difficulty; not only would the measure be considered by the world as anti-Republican, ungenerous and unjust, but on the *miserable score of policy* it would prove perplexing, and dangerous in the extreme. It is well known that the French King entertains the best feelings toward the Haïtians, and that the most liberal indulgence as to the payment of the indemnity has lately been granted by him, with the kindest expressions of good will. France will not allow us to tamper with her debtor with impunity; and by an ill-timed, impertinent interference with another Government, destroy her chance for the recovery of her claim. A difference with the French, however, is less to be shunned than the foul dishonor which would attach itself to the act of robbing a Government, less powerful than our own, of the fairest portion of its territory.

B. C. C.

* Although we cannot but feel that Slavery speaks to this Republic as prophetically as did the ghost of Cæsar to the ill-starred Brutus, yet we allude to its existence amongst us, only incidentally, being well satisfied that a few demagogues who rejoice in Slavery at home, and forge letters for other lands, do not represent our Southern brethren any nearer than the rabid, "*one idea*" Abolitionist does the people of New England.

† The writer knows of but one missionary in Haïti from the United States. He embarked with his wife in January last, in a small, uncomfortable schooner, for Port au Prince. His name is William M. Jones. If it were not superfluous to allude to denominations, in view of a true "Soldier of the Cross," we would say this man hails from amongst the Baptists.

From the Baltimore Saturday Visiter.

LETTER FROM A MARYLANDER.

Slavery in Maryland—The Domestic Slave-Trade—Appeal to Professors of Religion, and to the Women of Baltimore—Our Black Laws, &c.

EASTERN SHORE OF MARYLAND, Dec. 24th, 1845.

DR. SNODGRASS—DEAR SIR:—On looking over the letter lately addressed to Dr. Stewart, through your columns, I most heartily concurred with the writer in all he said. I expressly join him in requesting the Doctor's opinion on the suggestion of the writer. The said letter had the same effect on my mind, that the Doctor's address had on the mind of a "Baltimorean," that is, bringing to view sundry matters well worthy of the attention and consideration of the citizens of the State. I know and feel that Slavery *is* "a curse upon our beautiful land," and further, that it is a dark blot on the character of the religious professors of the "land of the *free*, and home of the brave," because they are *particeps criminis* in the maintenance of the institution, and all its concomitant evils, by not crying aloud, and sparing not all who participate in the wrong. Can any person for a moment believe that a professed negro-trader would find a home in our beautiful monumental city, or an editor of a newspaper, that would aid him by admitting his advertisement in his paper, if the professed followers of the Prince of Peace, disregarding the senseless cry of "Abolitionist," (a bugbear which the interested are always sure to raise,) would hold a consistent testimony against the traffic, and the trafficker, who has the hardihood, in the middle of the 19th century, to separate husbands from their wives, parents from their children, and infant children from their mothers, in open day? Would that all those who hold the traffic in abhorrence, would do their duty! Only to think that fair mothers in Baltimore are aware that other mothers are daily sold to a far off land, and their children oftentimes, (sometimes even infant children,) left behind, and not so much as cry "shame!"

I say unto you, oh woman!—ye who exercise so much influence on all around you, you are bound to do all you can, lawfully, to put an end to this trading in the "blood of souls." To the Christian voters, to those who, by their votes, decide the destinies of this State, I would humbly advise you to enlist on the side of oppressed humanity; and if you fail in putting an end to Slavery, and the domestic Slave-Trade, you can, by refusing to vote for any candidate, unless he be a friend of the oppressed, hold a glorious testimony against it. I, for one, am determined (in language like that of the fearless champion of civil liberty in the West, C. M. Clay) that, so far as the omnipotency of one vote will effect it, Maryland shall be free!

I wish some fearless and competent person would portray to the inhabitants of this State, the unequal and consequently unjust laws of the State, with reference to the free colored people—how injurious the "Black Laws" of Maryland are to the interests of the non-slaveholding portion of the people, such as have to depend on free labor to till their lands.

Very truly, yours, A.

From the Albany Evening Journal.

LETTER FROM A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

GREAT BRUNSWICK STREET, DUBLIN, Dec. 1st, 1845.

DEAR SIR:—Allow me to thank you for your noble and timely defence of my conduct on board the British steamship Cambria, during her passage, 27th August, from Boston, United States, to Liverpool, England; and also to thank you for the friendly manner with which you regard and treat every movement tending to improve and elevate my long enslaved and deeply injured race.

In attempting to speak on board the Cambria, I acted in accordance with a sense of duty, and with no desire to wound or injure the feelings of any one on board. My object was to enlighten such of our passengers as wished to be enlightened, and to remove the objections to emancipation, and false impressions concerning Slavery, which I had heard urged during our passage.

Nor should I have done this, but that our popular and gentlemanly commander, as well as a most respectable number of our passengers, gave me a pressing invitation to do so. It is clear that Slavery in our country can only be abolished by creating a public opinion favorable to its abolition, and this can only be done by enlightening the public mind—by exposing the character of Slavery, and enforcing the great principles of justice and humanity against it. To do this with what ability I may possess, is plainly my duty. To shrink from doing so on any fitting occasion, from a mere fear of giving offence to those implicated in the wickedness, would be to betray the sacred trust committed to me, and to act the part of a coward.

The question to be answered is:—Had the passengers, through the Captain, a right to ask me to give them my views of Slavery? To ask the question is to answer it. They had as much right to ask me my views on that subject, as those on any other subject. To deny that they had such right, would be to deny that they had the right to exchange views at all. If they had the right to ask, I had a right to answer, and to answer so as to be understood by those who wish to hear. But then, it will be said, the subject of Slavery is not open to discussion. Who say so? the very men who are continually speaking and writing in its favor? But who has a right to say what subject shall or shall not be discussed on board of a British steamer? Certainly not the slaveholders of South Carolina, nor their slaveholding abettors in New-York, or elsewhere. If any one has such a right, the ship's commander has. Now, all I did on the occasion in question, was in perfect agreement with the wishes of the Captain, and a large number of our most respectable passengers.

The English papers have had much to say respecting the affair, and of course, have in all cases taken a view favorable to myself. I say of course, not because I regard English journalists more disposed to pursue an honorable course in general, than those of America; but because they are all committed against negro slavery within their own dominions and elsewhere; and in this, whatever may be said of them in other respects, they hold a decided advantage over those of America.

The whole conduct of the Americans who took part in the mob on board the Cambria, was in keeping with the base and cowardly spirit that animated the mob in Lexington, Kentucky, which murderously undertook to extinguish the light of Cassius M. Clay's noble paper, because his denunciations of Slavery were offensive to their slaveholding ears. Not being able to defend their "peculiar institution" with words, they meanly—and I may add foolishly—resort to blows, vainly thinking thus to cover up their infamy. When will they learn that all such attempts only defeat the end which they are intended to promote! as it only calls attention to an institution which can pass without condemnation only as it passes without observation. The selfishness of the slaveholder, and the horrible practices of Slavery, must ever excite in the true heart the deepest indignation, and most absolute disgust.

"To be hated it needs but to be seen."

Again accept my thanks, and believe me to be most gratefully, yours,

FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

MR. THURLOW WEED.

From the Washington Union.

TEXAS AND SLAVERY.

A MANLY CARD FROM HON. BRADFORD R. WOOD.

REPRESENTATIVES' HALL, Dec. 31, 1845.

DEAR SIR: My attention has been called to a resolution published in the Union of the 29th inst. in reference to my vote on the joint resolutions for the annexation of Texas. This resolution was adopted at a convention assembled in the county of Albany, for the purpose of recommending to the Governor of the State of New-York suitable persons to fill certain vacancies, and by a vote of thirty out of a delegation usually consisting of seventy members. In consequence of the previous question, several of my colleagues, besides myself, were debarred of an opportunity of assigning our reasons for our vote on the Texas resolutions. Mine have been forwarded to Albany for publication, and for the information of those most concerned. *The annexation of Texas was one thing, and its annexation with a clause in her Constitution perpetuating Slavery quite another.* Nor could I sanction by my vote the form in which it was accomplished. On this subject my views were well known during the Congressional canvass in my district, concealed from no one who wished to know them, (and there were many such,) and all who knew me knew as well then, as now, what my action would be on this question. Its annexation, in the manner it was effected, never was presented as a Democratic measure in my district, nor in any other manner that I am aware of. Unquestionably many were in favor of the annexation; but neither then nor now, as I believe, do they constitute a majority.

It is well known that numbers of the Democratic party in my State who sustained the Baltimore nominations, and who have given a cordial support to the President since his election, voted under protest; and when the politics of New-York are as well understood here as they are there, all who take an interest in them and the state of her parties, will know why the resolution in question was adopted by a bare quorum, or why it was adopted at all.

I remain, very respectfully, yours, &c.

BRADFORD R. WOOD.

From the National Intelligencer.

THE TRUE CHARACTER OF WAR.

We are not among those who flatter ourselves that war between nations has ceased upon earth. All that we contend for is, that war *without necessity* is a crime and a disgrace to civilization. Holding this opinion, in common, we believe, with the great body of the people of the United States, it always pains us to hear war spoken of lightly, or in any other way than as a great political and moral evil.

We were the proprietors of this paper some time before the commencement of the war of 1812, and were the advocates of that war, believing its declaration and prosecution to be an inevitable necessity.—We were young at the time, it is true, but, when we doubted, we followed the counsels of the Fathers of the Republic, then living amongst us. We have therefore lived and played our part in one war, and are not without experience of the character and consequences of that *ultima ratio Regum*, which ought with much stronger reason to be the last resort of Republics.

In listening to the debate now going on in the House of Representatives, and observing the martial spirit which glows in the speeches of the young members, of both political parties, in that assembly, we could not help wishing that they could, without our age, have had the benefit of our experience. It is not possible that some practical knowledge should not have inspired them with very different ideas on the subject from those which they appear to entertain.

Thus thinking, there came to our recollection a passage in the writings of a famous author in our mother tongue, who had occasion to speak of the true character of war, without reference to the grounds upon which it is waged. We have turned to the works of that writer, from which we make the subjoined extract, which we trust will give offence to nobody. It ought not to do so, for a truer picture was never drawn by pen or pencil:

As war is the last of remedies, all lawful expedients must be used to avoid it. As war is the extremity of evil, it is surely the duty of those whose station entrusts them with the care of nations to avert it from their charge. There are diseases of animal nature which nothing but amputation can remove; so there may, by the depravation of human passions, be sometimes a gangrene in collective life for which fire and the sword are the necessary remedies; but in what can skill or caution be better shown than in preventing such dreadful operations while there is yet room for gentler methods?

It is wonderful with what coolness and indifference the greater part of mankind see war commenced. Those that hear of it at a distance, or read of it in books, but have never presented its evils to their minds, consider it as a little more than a splendid game, a proclamation, an army, a battle and a triumph. Some indeed must perish in the most successful field, but they die upon the bed of honor, *resign their lives amidst the joys of conquest, and, filled with glory, smile in death!*

The life of a modern soldier is ill-represented by heroic fiction. War has means of destruction more formidable than the cannon and the sword. Of the thousands and tens of thousands that perish in the contest, a very small part ever feel the stroke of an enemy; the rest languish in tents and ships, amidst damps and putrefaction; pale, torpid, spiritless, and helpless; gasping and groaning, unpitied among men, made obdurate by long continuance of hopeless misery; and are at last whelmed in pits, or heaved into the ocean, without notice or without remembrance. By incommodious encampments and unwholesome stations, where courage is useless and enterprise impracticable, fleets are silently dispeopled and armies sluggishly melted away.

Thus is a people gradually exhausted, for the most part, with little effect.

The wars of civilized nations make very slow changes in the system of empire. The public perceives scarcely any alteration but an increase of debt; and the few individuals who are benefited are not supposed to have the clearest right to their advantages. If he that shared the danger enjoyed the profit, and, after bleeding in the battle, grew rich by the victory, he might show his gains without envy. But at the conclusion of a ten years' war, how are we recompensed for the death of multitudes and the expense of millions but by contemplating the sudden glories of paymasters and agents, contractors and commissaries, whose equipages shine like meteors, and whose palaces rise like exhalations?

These are the men who, without virtue, labor, or hazard, are growing rich as their country is impoverished; they rejoice when obstinacy or ambition adds another year to slaughter and devastation; and laugh from their desks at bravery and science, while they are adding figure to figure and cipher to cipher, hoping for a new contract from a new armament, and computing the profits of a siege or a tempest.

Those who suffer their minds to dwell on these considerations will think it no great crime in the ministry that they have not snatched with eagerness the first opportunity of rushing into the field, when they were able to obtain by quiet negotiation all the real good that victory could have brought us.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH.

The Mississippi Annual Conference recently in session at New Orleans, approved of the separation of the Church, which took place at the Louisville Convention in May last as, follows:

1. That we approve of the organization thus formed and called the "Methodist Episcopal Church, South," and hereby express our unqualified adherence thereto.

2. That all our minutes and proceedings be hereafter had and carried on in the name of the "Methodist Episcopal Church, South."

3 That we are satisfied with the present Book of Discipline, and wish no change therein, except such as may be necessary to conform it to the action of the Louisville Convention.

4. That we will proceed to elect delegates to the General Conference provided for by the Convention, to be held in Petersburg in May next.

5. That we feel under obligations to our delegates, and the delegates generally composing the Louisville Convention, for the calm, yet decided manner in which they performed their duties.

6. That we, with heartfelt pleasure, recognize Bishops Soule and Andrew as bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and do highly approve their conduct and adherence to principle.

7. That we will continue, until the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, shall have made other arrangements, to patronize the Book Concerns of New-York and Cincinnati, not daring to cast so great reproach on our brethren of the North as to suspect that they will break their solemn engagements with us in reference to the mutual church property.

Rev. S. W. D. Chase, formerly of the Illinois Conference, has been received into the Church, South, Rev. De Witt Johnson, of the Ohio Conference, has also attached to the Southern Church, Rev B. A. Houghton, of Providence, La. has left the Southern Church.

The following gentleman have been elected delegates to the General Conference to be held at Petersburg, in May next:

Rev. W. Winans, G. M. Rogers, B. M. Drake, John Lane, J. G. Jones. A. T. M. Fly and L. Campbell were yesterday appointed delegates to the General Conference to be held in May next, at Petersburg, Va. Rev. W. H. Wilkins, S. W. Spicer and B. Randall, were appointed *reserved* delegates to the same Conference.

Rev. Mr. Clark, formerly of the Troy Conference, has joined the Mississippi Conference, and is to be a missionary to the French population at New Orleans.

There was a long debate in reference to dividing the Conference; finally it was decided to memorialize the next General Conference, to set off another Conference. Sixty-two voted in favor of dividing and thirteen against it.

From the Morning News.

ABOLITION OF THE DEATH PUNISHMENT.

A full and intelligent audience was convened in the Hall, corner of Lispenard street and Broadway, on Monday evening, January 5th, to form a city society for the abolition of capital punishment.

Judge Scott was called to the chair.

On motion, a committee was appointed to report a Constitution and list of officers for the action of the meeting. During their absence, an able address was made by Mr. O'Sullivan, in which some new and conclusive facts and statistics were presented.

The committee, through their chairman, the Rev. Mr. Balch, presented the following Constitution, which was unanimously adopted:

The name of this society shall be the New-York City Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty, auxiliary to the State society.

Its officers shall be a President, Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, and a committee of seven.

The annual meeting shall be on the first Monday after the 1st day of June, for the choice of officers, &c. The officers may be chosen by ballots or nomination, as the meeting may direct.

The same committee offered the following list of names, which was accepted as the list of officers for the year ensuing:

For President—Benjamin Ellis.
Vice Presidents—Richard S. Williams, R. N. Morrison, E. P. Hurlbut.
Treasurer—F. C. Ravemeyer.
Corresponding Secretary—Oliver Johnson.
Recording Secretary—Sydney Howard Gay.
Executive Committee—Philo Price, Jas. G. McAdam, Wm. A. Conant, C. D. Stuart, J. N. Parker, Elias S. Smith, James H. Griffin.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. O'Sullivan, and passed unanimously, and the Secretary was directed to transmit it to Messrs. Christmas & Pyne:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Rev. Henry Christmas and the Rev. Thomas Pyne, of the Church of England, for their able and convincing publications in favor of the abolition of Capital Punishment.

Interesting addresses were then made by the Rev. Mr. Willington, Arnold Buffum, and the Rev. Mr. Balch.

On motion, adjourned to meet at the same place, on a fortnight from this (Monday) evening. A number of petitions were circulated, and the best spirit pervaded the meeting.

We copy the following article from the Independent Democrat, the organ of John P. Hale, and the *true* Democrats of New Hampshire. If the editor believes all he says, how long before he will advocate a dissolution of the Union which is prostituted to such infamy?:

ANNEXATION OF THE WEST INDIES---DESIGNS OF THE SOUTH.

No intelligent man who has watched the course of events in this country for the last few years, can fail to perceive that the institution of Southern Slavery has been for a long time advancing, sometimes stealthily, but always steadily, to the control of our Government. Since the Washingtons, and Jeffersons, and Henrys, have passed off the stage, the one solitary idea which has guided the politicians of the South Carolina school has been the extension and perpetuation of Slavery. To this one idea has all the tact, and all the talent of the South been zealously directed. To strengthen the "peculiar institution," and make it perpetual, the other interests of the country have been overlooked or sacrificed; as would best suit the McDuffies and Hammonds of the South.

To the shame and everlasting disgrace of the North be it spoken, the sons of the Pilgrims have not only not resisted the encroachments of Slavery, but they have never unitedly made a solitary protest against the attempts to nationalize an institution which disgraces the name of Democracy as much as it violates the rights of man. Nay, worse; the South have at all times found their most unscrupulous tools at the North. From the settlement of the Missouri question to this time, Northern politicians have been, as John Randolph said, "dog cheap." The bounty of treason has never been offered without finding a traitor to take it. The die is at length cast. Northern traitors and dough-faces are scarcely necessary to the further prosecution of the Southern policy. The annexation of Texas has given the sceptre into the hands of the slave power. With a majority of two States at this moment, and an indefinite number in embryo, the advocates of the eternity of Slavery may well feel that their power is safe. They no longer need to apologize for Slavery, or seek to cloak their designs under pretences as flimsy as they are false and hypocritical.

Men may no longer talk of Slavery as an evil of which the country may sometime hope to be rid. "It is the very corner-stone of every well-constructed Republican edifice." Instead of striving, therefore, to limit and remove it as a curse, it must be fostered and extended if possible over the whole American continent. More; the adjacent islands too, must share the blessing. Especially do the benevolent patriarchs of Slavedom wish to bless all the regions of the sunny South with the surpassing advantages of "an institution ordained by God, and sanctioned by the Holy Ghost." Texas is annexed, and this "corner-stone" of Republicanism is laid there forever.

Mexico and California, now offer a glorious field for the benevolent operations of these Jesuits of Slavery. A new effort must be made to plant a second time the "God-ordained," institution where, through the superstitions of the Romish clergy, and the dark ignorance of the people, it has once been persecuted and destroyed. Side by side with the standard of Anglo-Saxon civilization and the Protestant religion, must now be planted the tree of African servitude. Nor will these devoted apostles of the patriarchal faith stop here. All the Islands of the West Indian sea are ripe for the sickle. Without the aid of missionaries from the United States, Slavery cannot be re-established in Haïti. Some fifty years since an insane passion for liberty took possession of the slaves, and they became free. Mr. Calhoun we presume, in sheer compassion for their unfortunate delusion of half a century's standing, recently sent a Mr. Hogan there, to preach to the simple natives the pure Gospel of Slavery, as expounded by Governor Hammond.

Report says, and Mr. Hogan himself confirms the report, that Mr. Calhoun's missionary has induced about 100,000, benevolent Spaniards and Creoles to consent to be annexed to this country, and receive about six times their own number, of African descent, back into their former happy state of slavery. But unfortunately for the immediate success of the mission, the unfortunate blacks have not yet got quite sick of their liberty. Their hallucination has not entirely passed away. Hence, they are hardly prepared to appreciate either the disinterested kindness of Mr. Calhoun, or the self-sacrificing benevolence of the Spanish and Creole descendants of their former masters. Mr. Calhoun, who is seldom put to his trumps, will, without doubt, suggest some method of obviating this difficulty. In the view of himself and Governor Hammond, Slavery and Christianity are to "have the heathen for a joint inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession." How unlikely that the onward course of Slavery and Christianity can be stopped by the stupid attachment to liberty of a few hundred thousand ignorant blacks! It is absurd to think it can be done.

The car of Slavery is destined to roll on, and wo to any unfortunate son of Africa who attempts to obstruct the track. Slavery must not only be re-established in Haïti—it must also be perpetuated in Cuba. There, owing to the influence of a corrupt church, and other causes, the institution is tottering under the imbecility of old age and disease. In the opinion of the South, which opinion has already been endorsed by Edmund Burke, and the New Hampshire Patriot, nothing but annexation to this country can save the institution from decay and utter extinction. To prevent so great a calamity, the South, with the Hammonds and McDuffies at their head, and Edmund Burke and the New Hampshire Patriot at their tail, say it must be annexed. If Slavery were permitted to die out in the West India Islands, who would stand sponsor for its eternal existence in the land of Washington and Jefferson? The mandate has gone forth. Slavery shall not be extinguished. Southern Chivalry has spoken it—and Northern Doughfacedom says Amen.

This is not idle speculation. It is sad reality. It was but the other day that one of the Southern Senators rose in his place and offered a resolution in favor of annexing Cuba. The dough-faces there not being *quite ready* to vote in favor of it, and not *daring* to vote against it, persuaded the mover to withdraw it as *premature*. It will be moved again at the first favorable moment. Nothing will be left untried which may be necessary to extend and strengthen Slavery, and enable the South to control the Union. To this end must all the legislation of Congress be shaped. For this purpose must tariffs be enacted or repealed, our own territory parted with, or new territory acquired. "Protection to American Slavery," instead of "Protection to American industry," is already the rallying cry at the South. "Free trade" means nothing more than protection to slave labor against free labor.

Are the free laborers of the North ready to see themselves reduced to the level of slaves? Are they prepared to have all their industrial pursuits broken before the Dagon of human servitude? There is but one way to prevent it. To do this, the North must unite as one man, and resolve to be as true to their interests as the South are to *theirs*. Southern men never lose their Southern principles. There you find no traitors. A Southern man with Northern principles were a hissing and scorn at the South. Here at the North it is otherwise. Northern men are the most obsequious servants of the South. Let this matter be amended. Let the people of the North be true to themselves—let them choose men to serve them, who dare to be true to the free principles of the North, and all may yet be well.—They will cease to be ganged in their own House of Representatives, or to have all their interests sacrificed to the cruel demon of oppression.

From the Indiana Freeman.

"BLEACHING"—AN ANECDOTE.

A Boston paper says:

"It is noticeable in this market, that Sherman's Lozenges are not so black as they were."

Upon which the New Orleans Picayune remarks:

"And in this, that negro babies are *not so black* as they used to be."

How does the State Sentinel, (which seems incapable of distinguishing the difference between an Abolitionist and an amalgamationist,) account for this phenomenon?

The slaves at the South, owing to some cause, are getting "bleached" with remarkable rapidity. Some of them are so very white that it is almost impossible to discover that they are "negroes." A late paper, for instance, contains the advertisement of a Mr. P. Lee, of Maysville, Ky. offering a heavy reward for the apprehension of his slave Fanny, who is described as being "the mother of four children, about 25 years old, *as white as most white women.*" Fanny's children are no darker than their mother. How came this woman and her offspring *white*? Not legitimately, I presume.

The following anecdote, which I am assured is positively true, in every particular, will serve to illustrate the necessity of preventing the democratic "Abolitionists," of the South, from coloring their blacks white:

About a year ago, Mr. T———, a Baptist clergyman, from a neighboring county, was travelling towards Greenfield, to attend a protracted meeting. As he reached the National Road at Cumberland, he saw, some distance west, a gentleman travelling the same direction with himself. The day was chilly, and the roads intolerable, and Mr. T——— thought it would greatly alleviate the tedium of the journey to have a sociable companion. Waiting for the gentleman to come up, he entered into conversation with him, and found him highly intelligent and agreeable. After travelling together for some time, Mr. T——— inquired what business had called his friend—for they had become quite intimate—to Indianapolis? He had been there to organize an African Baptist Church! "Why," exclaimed Mr. T. "you must be greatly interested in the colored people to travel so far, in such unpleasant weather, to organize a church among them."

"Perhaps," replied his companion, "you are not aware that I have some African blood in my veins." He raised his hat, and Mr. T——— saw that his hair curled slightly.

Here was a predicament! But Mr. T——— concluded, as he had thus far received nothing but pleasure from the intercourse with his companion, he would suppress his prejudices, and travel on with the black man. And as they were about separating, he told the colored preacher that if he would come up to the meeting at Greenfield, he, Mr. T———, would endeavor to make arrangements to have the colored church admitted into the Indianapolis Association. They separated.

A few days after, Mr. T———, while preaching, saw the colored minister enter the meeting-house, accompanied by Mr. M'Dougal, of Indianapolis, and another gentleman. After concluding his sermon, Mr. T——— requested his former fellow traveller to close the meeting with prayer. Instead of complying, he seemed confused, and said hastily, "You must excuse me, Sir: I beg you to excuse me."

Mr. T——— was somewhat surprised at this refusal; but as he left the pulpit his surprise grew into utter astonishment as the people crowded around his *colored friend*, shaking him by the hand, and exclaiming:

"How do you do, Governor?"
"How is your health, Governor?"
"Are you well, Governor?"

Mr. T——— looked again, and the blood rushed to his face, as he discovered that he had mistaken His Excellency, *James Whitcomb*, Governor of Indiana, for the colored minister that he had met on the National Road, a few days before!

This little story has a moral to it. It would be expedient for Gov. Whitcomb, before going near the Ohio river, to get out free papers. And furthermore, some efficient steps should be taken to prevent blacks from looking like white people, or *vice versa.*

MR. AND MRS. FOSTER.

Mr. Foster, the author of "The Church a Brotherhood of Thieves," and the late Abby Kelley, now Mrs. Foster, are in this city, lecturing on Anti-Slavery. We were present yesterday afternoon, at the meeting held by them in Temperance Hall, corner of Diamond alley and Smithfield street. The meeting was very large and highly respectable; it was composed of persons of all parties, and conducted with great order and decorum. Both ladies and gentlemen were present, and white and colored people, and, however much some of the persons may have differed in opinion from the speaker, Mrs. Foster, yet they were evidently pleased with her manner and ability in treating the subject, and listened with the greatest attention to her remarks. It seems to us that she has recently been indisposed in health; for her voice does not possess its usual strength. But she manifested her accustomed quickness of apprehension, energy of declamation, and plainness of moral invective. It is known to the public that she and her husband are anti-unionists, on the principle that the Constitution of the United States is a pro-slavery instrument, and contrary to the law of humanity and of God. They do not spare the Liberty party; nor, indeed, any of the other parties. They were to lecture, also, last evening; but we had not time to attend. They will hold meetings, as we are informed, to-day and this evening, at the same place; and we advise all who have the opportunity, to go and hear them: for however you may differ from them, in many of their views, you will hear able and free discourses on topics deeply interesting, which will put you to close and serious thinking.—*Sunbeam.* (*Pittsburgh.*)

Communications.

Letter from Pennsylvania.

WILLISTOWN, CHESTER COUNTY, January 5, 1846.

What next. Since the union of Texas with the United States, the Constitution and common honesty has been crucified between these two thieves. A circumstance and act, that has fully and fairly developed our national character before the world, and before the sun. By low, cunning craft, and fraud, they have dismembered a neighboring nation of a part of her territory, to increase the bonds and abomination of Slavery on. We have effected a beggarly alliance, union, and communion, with that incestuous, filthy harlot, the offspring and production of men-thieves. It is somewhat admirable to see how President Polk varnishes over this disgusting, slaveholding alliance. He says: "Mexico, by a formal act, agreed to recognize the independence of Texas, on condition that she would not annex herself to any other power." And then, in the next line of this long-winded Message, that he has inflicted on the nation, he says:—"The agreement to acknowledge the independence of Texas, with, or without this condition, is conclusive against Mexico." What queer kind of English this is, from the mouthpiece of the nation. He then continues, "But, though Mexico cannot complain of the United States, on account of the annexation of Texas, it is to be *regretted* that serious causes of misunderstanding between the two countries continues to exist, growing out of unredressed injuries inflicted by the Mexican authorities, and people, on the persons and property of citizens of the United States through a long series of years. Mexico has admitted these injuries, but has neglected and refused to repair them. Such was the character of the wrongs, and such the insults repeatedly offered to American citizens, and the American flag, by Mexico, in palpable violation of the laws of nations," &c. Hear, O! heavens, and give ear O! earth! What pious "*regrettings*" from a Democratic Republican slaveholder, presiding over a nation holding near three millions of human beings in a bondage the most abject, and cruel, to be found on this globe.

A nation that has, by fraud and violence, plundered the Indian natives of their soil, in defiance of solemn treaties, for the purpose of extending the bounds of Slavery.—And not satisfied with all this, have disgraced the nation throughout the world, by plundering our neighbors of their territory, for the express purpose of adding to the sufferings of millions more of the creatures of God. Is not this proof enough that the heart of man, when in the pursuit of lust and power, is, "above all things deceitful, and desperately wicked." Our Democratic Republicans must have concluded that God, the great "Husbandman, had gone into a far country; and they may with impunity, take his servants, and beat one, and kill another, and stone another," without ever coming to a day of reckoning. It is evident, from the temper and tone of the press of the party now in power, that it is an index of their morality, being prepared for universal aggression on the weak and helpless, within their grasp. This is a mean trait in American Republicanism. But the most odious of all traits in his Message throughout, meandering like the veins in the human system, is a hypocritical boasting, and self-commendation that is peculiar to Americans of a certain stamp. I, therefore, remind this accomplished deceiver, that, nevertheless, "That whatsoever thou meetest out to others shall be meeted to thee again." Our wicked rulers must have concluded that God, the great "Husbandman, has delayed his coming." Our Republican man-stealers will be likely to continue adding sin to sin, till the measure of their iniquity is filled up. Our Republicanism is precisely of the same stamp, in character, as that of the French Revolution; pride, ambition, and universal plunder, until they thoroughly convinced Europe and the world, of their indivisable profanity. The French Revolution, like all other revolutions, produced a character in accordance with their republican morality; hence, Napoleon Bonaparte was properly a facsimile of that spurious Republicanism so popular then as now. This man resembled a fiery-flying dragon, who was permitted to torment the nations for a season, for the punishment of "Those who neither feared God nor regarded man," until in the ordination of God a reaction was produced, which struck terror and dismay in the ranks of three hundred thousand pretended republican myrmidons, and their hypocritical pretender, by which they were precipitated from the high standing of Dictator to Europe, and disturbers of the peace of the world. And he, like the fugitive slave in these United States, was left without a square foot of ground to stand on, with a moment's safety; but differing from the slave in being the author of his own destruction.—Thus ended the French Democracy. And thus will end the false Democracy of America, whose pride, avarice, and arrogance, rises just in proportion to their power. And to cap the infamy of their wicked deeds, the annexation of Texas, to increase the bounds of Slavery, stands pre-eminent; and has doomed American Democracy to a day of recompense, that God will bring as a thief in the night,—and who may abide his coming? The laws by which he governs the universe are fixed and eternal as His will. There is not anything new under the sun. What was, is, and what is, will be. The legitimate result of the good or evil actions of men, just in accordance with the mind or will of man in making his election to serve God or the serpent. And there is no attribute of the author of our being more clearly written on the scroll of time, that is now like grim death, staring these United States in the face, then, "That of the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him," with a fearful looking for judgment. And although lust, pride, and covetousness, are the predominent traits in the rulers of the land, yet I want the Abolitionists to take King David's advice, to "Fret not thyself because of evil doers; neither be thou envious against the workers of iniquity. For they shall soon be cut down like the grass, and wither like the green herb,—Psalm 37. The oppressor is always the nearest destruction when he is at his highest power.

NATHAN EVANS.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, JAN. 15, 1846.

The Church.

When we remember all that men have done, and dared, and suffered, in the name of their religious faith; that the history of the religion of any country is almost the whole history of its people; that in short the religious sentiment is the strongest of the human soul; that always, and everywhere, the form which it puts on is the highest expression of the life of man;—whether it be the adoration of the simple savage of Africa, who bows before some giant tree of his native forest, as to his mind the fullest and truest symbol of the wisdom and power of Deity; the sacrifice of the Hindoo mother of her child, to the terrible wrath of her God, or of herself to the manes of her husband, in obedience to the law of her faith; the devotion of the anchorite who wastes his life away in the subjugation of his appetites by the continual mortification of the flesh, trembling now with love and now with fear, as he breathes in his prayers the names of the divine mother and her child; or in the life of the not less sincere and not less humble Christian, who, believing in the teachings of his master as an immutable law of God, will bear all temporal ill, and suffer every infliction which his short-sighted brother-mortal can inflict upon him;—then we cannot escape from the conviction that in the professed religion of a people, we are to seek their character, and as that is moulded, so shall they be. Always and everywhere, also, is the Church the outward and visible sign of the inner life, and as that is pure so shall this be exalted, as that is low and base, so shall this be mean, and grovelling, and

application, and not refuses merely, but stands as the defender of the system, is a Christian Church, in the common acceptation of the term, then is it better that men should awaken from the error of eighteen centuries, and learn that humanity needs a higher and a holier faith than has ever yet been taught. But it is because the principles of Christianity are high and holy, and because they find a response in the heart of every humane and earnest man, and because we know we need not a truer faith than they give us, that we would defend them against the usurping power, miscalled by the name of him of Nazareth. We do not, as Abolitionists, even entertain the question, whether there needs to be an institution called a Church. We take men at their word that they believe in and need it, and we call on them by their belief, and their necessity, that they shall abandon this which may have done all that was asked of it in a past age, and with a living faith and sincere and righteous works recreate for themselves a Church, or—if they prefer the term—revivify the Church, that it shall be in deed, and in truth, the Church of Christ. In whatever form of doctrine or of worship, in whatever words of faith, or method of action, they may choose to believe and live, we care not; we only ask in the name of God and the slave, in the name of Christianity and their own love of the right, that they shall believe and live as the Father of all men would have them toward all His children.—G.

C. M. Clay at the Tabernacle.

Most of our readers have probably heard that Mr. Clay is on a visit at the North. He has been in this city for some days, and was invited by a number of the most respectable citizens to address the public. There are some curious facts relating to the pro-slavery character of some of our distinguished citizens, and the difficulty in getting up this meeting, but we have not room to give them now, even if it were best to do so. The meeting will be a great aid, no doubt, to Mr. Clay in Kentucky, and he should have the full benefit of it, as it was enthusiastic and sincere, when the people once got together.

The meeting was held in the Tabernacle, on Monday evening, and probably the largest audience was gathered there that ever came together under any roof in New-York. Mr. Clay was received by three deafening cheers for himself, and three for the freedom of the Press. He spoke for two hours, interrupted frequently by applause, and occasionally by hisses. Though Mr. Clay is not a graceful speaker, and would hardly be accounted an eloquent one among Abolitionists, when, as Mr. Emerson says, "eloquence is dog-cheap," yet his speech was full of interesting and important truths, which it will do the people good to have heard if they will only heed them.

The Tribune has a most excellent report of the speech, which we should be glad to copy entire if we had the time and room. As it is we make some extracts of the most important parts:

He commenced with a few preliminary remarks, in which he stated that if we looked back through past history, and noticed the development of the human mind and its results, we were always enabled to trace something upon the tablet of time by which to guide us in carrying on the progress of mind to a still higher state of human development. He added that, therefore, he claimed for himself no merit for originality in his efforts; he had merely attempted to take up that which he had learned by rote, and to add his mite to that which was already before the intelligence of the world.

We, of the United States, claim to be the first people who laid down the true basis of the Government of men. It is this: that Government consists of one omnipotent principle—that men associated together in a civilized state shall obtain a greater amount of liberty than they can whilst living in the natural state. That it should give to all associated under it the same rights and equal liberty; and if a Government does not show that it does this—if it shall in any way trench on the rights of any portion of the governed, then I say that that Government ought to perish, whether it be a Republic or a Monarchy. (Here there was considerable applause, and a few faint hisses.) And that Government which cuts off a portion from any of their rights, and leaves them even worse than they were in the natural state, cannot by any possibility be a permanent Government. (Applause.)

Whilst I am not insensible to the injuries inflicted on the African race—the almost countless miseries and tortures which many of them have endured for centuries; whilst I admit fully that God has given rights which are marked as clearly on the most dusky face of that injured race—still I must insist that I am mainly actuated by a still higher motive—the greater motive of achieving the complete independence and liberty of my own, the white Anglo-Saxon race of America! (Much applause.) And God has so ordered it that you cannot trench upon any—the humblest, meanest link in the great chain of humanity—but the injury will reach to the highest link, and draw all down with it to destruction. (Applause.) I advocate, then, not only the interests and liberties of the African, but also those of the 18,000,000 of whites who should have been freemen on this soil of the United States. (Loud applause.)

He did not, he said, assume the credit of any peculiar sagacity in advocating Emancipation. He had only to look around him to see the evils of Slavery. He drew a vivid contrast between the free and slave States, in the arts and sciences, in mechanics, in agriculture, in education, in morality, and all that makes a people great, virtuous, and intelligent. He said:

I know that there are shrewd men and intelligent as they are accounted, who contend that it is better to keep these 3,000,000 of human beings in slavery, because we get the proceeds or profits of their labors. But if this be true—which it is not—if this were true—frightful as it would be thus to obtain wealth only by human suffering and blood—by trampling into the dust all human rights and blessings—how horrible must it be to find that with all this outrage such is not the case. That gold being the God they worshipped—when by violation of all laws human and divine they expected to grasp it, and found nothing but an ashen apple remained—to their utter destruction. (Much applause, mingled with a few hisses.)

* * * * * *

I love the South! (Applause.) It is my birthplace. I am not a Southern man with Northern principles! (Applause and laughter.) I love my country, and would make her great and glorious. (Much applause.) And it is because I would make her great and glorious that I thus tell her of her faults. (Very general applause.)

Shall I speak of the morals of the South? That other portion of the human being forming the Great Unity?—They tell us in the South that Slavery is the great shield of morality—in the whites. If that were true, which it is not—if that were even true, yet who could say that God is a God of justice and of mercy, and yet admit it as an argument? As well might you point to the state of society in Great Britain; but who would argue in relation to the classes there that there was less crime among the aristocracy of England than among the great mass? Would that be a fair comparison? No! You must take men and women as you find them, and thus, in your statistics of morals you would have there to dot down 3,000,000 of abandoned men and women to begin with, and that at once shuts out all comparison.—Have you looked at the records of blood and murder? at the fatal rencontres? at the street-fights? at the duels, where not by man's code (though in the eye of God) the deliberate killing of a man in an arranged fight is as much murder as stabbing him in the dark? Where are your divorces most numerous? Where but in the South, with several hundreds annually; and yet we are told that chastity in the South far exceeds what exists in the North. (Applause.)

It is an inevitable result of the laws of God and man, that where a man violates one great law, he'll, with but here and there an exception, sooner or later, violate all the rest. This very principle of Slavery is the subversion of the greatest law of Nature. It is the law of force; and when that law of force—when Lynch law is abolished, then Slavery dies. (Much applause, and considerable hissing.) And yet there are many who smooth and roll back their hair, and look grave, and roll up their eyes, and say that they wish that man, Clay, well, but that he's too violent; he's too harsh; he uses arms in his own defence. (Laughter.) But suppose a man were to be stopped on the highway, or to fall in a cave of robbers, (I use the terms here in no offensive sense,) and he had a sword by his side, which ought he to use, his tongue or his sword?

A Gentleman (sitting right in front of Mr. Clay, with a lady by his side)—His sword, to be sure. (Much laughter.)

Mr. Clay—Why, certainly; for if he didn't, he might be called a pretty good fellow, but he'd be sure to have his pocket pretty thoroughly picked. (Increased laughter.) So, therefore, I say to you, Churchmen, who sit in the high places of the Sanctuary, and enter into the inner places of the Temple, that so far as we know anything of the Divine Nature, Slavery subverts it completely; and where Slavery exists, there true morality cannot exist. There are men amongst those institutions that I love and reverence; and, therefore, I tell them they stand on a sandy foundation—one that cannot stand the test of Divine Law, and therefore I would have them leave, and leave suddenly. (Applause.) It is true that in some quarters the conscience may be touched, but there remains still the seminal evil. (Applause.)

I told them, long before the mob of the 18th of August, that though there was a love of morality and order amongst them, yet that the few bad spirits would concentrate and overturn their good purposes. And so it will ever be. And because I fully acknowledge that the Church has in all ages sown the seeds of truth, virtue, morality, therefore I invoke all its leaders to see if Slavery be a sin or no. They will see that it will not stand the test. Thus, I ask, that they warn their fellow-men, that those who hold their fellow-men in bondage cannot belong to the Church of Him who said, "Do unto others as ye would others should do unto you." (Much applause, with considerable hissing.)

He spoke then of the political aspect of the subject, and promulgated good dissolution doctrine, though he did not mean it as such:

The great principle of Government, is, that it is bound to procure man more liberty in the social state than he can procure in the natural state; and the Government which says to a man, "You shall not possess your own wife—you shall not have your own child—you shall not select and enjoy your own home—you shall not take medicine from the doctor of your own selection, &c. &c.; that Government subverts every principle for which it was formed; and if God is just, it will be dissolved. (Much applause and hisses.)

At the formation of the Constitution in 1789, we had then fought a long and doubtful war; and our Fathers were induced to form a certain alliance with the South; and thus that clause was introduced which has been subversive of all these principles for which they began the war. They agreed that Slavery should exist in the South until the South chose to throw it off, in its own good time and pleasure. This fact, it is true, has been denied, by some who, in their zeal for freedom, have gone too far. But I regret that any man should go beyond the true principle for which they ought to contend, because such a course is calculated to bring the whole cause into disrepute. (Applause.) There was, then, an agreement that Slavery should exist in the Southern States. And there was a farther agreement (more is the pity) that if a slave escaped to a free State, the latter should return him into Slavery. And also that none should be introduced from Africa. (Applause.) So, therefore, the North joined hands with the South in this matter, and departed from the great principle for which they had fought the bloody battle of the Revolution.—(Applause.) So, therefore, if Slavery still exists in the South, you of the North are equally guilty of its existence. But if there be an extension of Slavery over other Territory of the Union, you, men of the North, are far more guilty than others, because *you did evil with far less temptation!* (Much applause.)

But, he asserted, our forefathers looked to the speedy abolition of slavery at the time of the formation of the Constitution. Then he gives us the result of the struggle between Slavery and Liberty:

Now let us see how the South progressed in their plan to perpetuate Slavery. They set about to monopolize all the offices in the country. And they got them. (Laughter and applause.) They then set about to pass laws by which free labor should be less valued than slave labor; and they accomplished that. They then devised ways and means by which slave labor should be especially looked after and protected; and they accomplished that. And all the laws which they passed were to elevate the labor of the slave and to depress that of the free white man. And they accomplished all this. (Laughter and applause.) And notwithstanding all this they were determined to have a large extension of slave territory, and they accomplished all this too. (Increased laughter and applause.)

First, they took Louisiana, (three States.) Let us say that Louisiana is the great entrepot for the commerce of the Southwest—admit all its peculiar advantages; we would buy it; but let it be free. But they confounded the two interests together, and made a slave empire of it. They then turned their attention to Florida—for another small slave empire to check the march of freedom. And they accomplished that. And not only did they get all this extent of slave region, but they farther willed to take a territory, making 40 *States as large as Massachusetts*,—and they accomplished that also. (Much applause and laughter, and loud hisses.)

Mr. Clay.—You hiss because you have guilt upon you. (Laughter and applause.) You fight with a mask, but I mean to tear it off. (Applause.) You call yourselves Democrats. (Roars of laughter, applause and hisses.) What did the Democrats fight for in 1776? I should be very much pleased if any one of you would tell me.

A Voice.—That freemen should vote, not niggers.

Another.—Liberty.

Mr. Clay.—Liberty! Have you given it to the unborn millions of Texas? (Laughter and applause.)

A Voice.—Yes.

Mr. Clay.—You say "Yes." And our friends may judge of the value to be put upon the balance of your arguments, by this very answer. (Shouts of laughter and applause.

The Voice.—Let's go out, Joe!

He then passed to the subject of Oregon, contrasting the conduct of the South on this question and that of annexing Texas. He advocated the abolition of Slavery in the District, and the suppression of the Domestic Slave-Trade, as measures which the North had the constitutional right to insist upon; and he called on the people to stand always by the Constitution. From these points he passed to the right of suffrage, and advocated its restoration to the colored people as their right, and because of the moral effect it would have on the South.

He concluded his speech as follows:—

As for myself, though the cause has apparently gone against me, and the liberty of Speech and of the Press, and the right of habeas corpus have been struck down in my person, I'm resolved not to give up! I may indeed be an enthusiast. Webster, Clay, Calhoun, may better comprehend the destiny of this Republic than I; but I cannot but give utterance to the conceptions of my own mind.

When I look upon the special developments of European civilization—when I contemplate the growing freedom of the cities, and the middle class which had sprung up between the pretenders to Divine rule on one hand, and the abject serf on the other—when I consider the reformation and the invention of the press—and then see on the Southern shore of the continent, an humble individual, amidst untold difficulties and repeated defeats, pursuing the mysterious suggestions which the mighty deep poured unceasingly upon his troubled spirit, till at last with great and irrepressible energy of soul, he discovered that there lay in the far Western Ocean a continent open for the infusion of those elementary principles of liberty, which were dwarfed in European soil, I have conceived that the hand of Destiny was there!

When I saw the immigration of the Pilgrims from the chalky shores of England—in the night fleeing from their native home—so dramatically and ably pictured by Mr. Webster in his celebrated oration—when father, mother, brother, wife, sister, lover, were all lost, by those melancholy wanderers, "stifling," in the language of one who is immortal in the conception, "the mighty hunger of the heart," and landing amidst cold, and poverty, and death, upon the rude Rock of Plymouth—I have ventured to think that the will of Deity was there!

When I have remembered the Revolution of '76—the seven years' war—three millions of men standing in arms against the most powerful nation of history, and vindicating their independence—I have thought that their sufferings and death were not in vain! When I have gone and seen the forsaken hearth-stone, looked in upon the battle-field, upon the dying and the dead—heard the agonizing cry, "Water, for sake of God! water"—seen the dissolution of this being—pale lips pressing in death the yet loved images of wife, sister, lover—I will not deem all these in vain! I cannot regard this great continent, reaching from the Atlantic to the far Pacific, and from the St. Johns to the Rio del Norte, a slave Empire, a barbarian people of third-rate civilization!

Like the Roman, who looked back upon the glory of his ancestors, in great wo exclaiming,

> "Great Scipio's ghost complains that we are slow,
> And Pompey's shade walks unavenged among us,"—

the great dead hover around me—Lawrence, "Do n't give up the ship"—Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death"—Adams, "Survive or perish, I am for the Declaration"—Allen, "In the name of the Living God I come!"

Come, then, thou Eternal! who dwellest not in temples made with hands, but who, in the city's crowd, or by the far forest stream, revealest thyself to the earnest seeker after the true and the right; inspire our hearts—give us undying courage to pursue the promptings of our spirit; and whether we shall be called in the shade of life to look upon sweet, and kind, and lovely faces as now—or, shut in by sorrow and night, horrid visages shall gloom upon us in our dying hour—Oh! my country! mayest thou yet be free!

After he had finished, the following resolutions were offered and adopted, with six cheers for Cassius M. Clay, and the freedom of the Press:

Resolved, That we regard the destruction of the True American Press, by a mob at Lexington, Kentucky, as a direct attack on the rights of Free Speech and the rights of Man, and that the authors of that outrage are deserving of the severest reprehension.

Resolved, That we tender to Cassius M. Clay our fervent gratitude for his struggles and sacrifices in the great cause of Universal Freedom, and we trust his devotion will yet be crowned with the amplest and most gratifying triumph.

Resolved, That we are deeply indebted to Mr. Clay for his address this evening in favor of the great principles of Justice and Liberty, and we assure him that our ardent sympathy will attend him in all his future efforts in behalf of Universal Emancipation.

Mr. Clay speaks again on this (Tuesday) evening, before the Colored Orphan Asylum, but it is too late for any report of the meeting for our paper.

More Democracy.

Mr. D. S. Dickinson, United States Senator from this State, has recently written a letter to a Tammany Hall Committee, in answer to an invitation to address a meeting in this city. The Morning Globe, in publishing it, says: "It is bold and manly in its enunciation of principles—it contains sound Democratic sentiments, expressed in simple, yet nervous and eloquent language, coming warm from a patriotic heart, and going right to the warm hearts of the Democratic masses." Immediately under this letter, that immaculate Democratic press publishes the secret Circular of Messrs. Bryant, Sedgwick, and others, issued after the nomination of Mr. Polk, by the Baltimore Convention, for "reasons connected with the immediate annexation of Texas," and in which they call upon their friends to nominate and support members for Congress, who will vote for the rejection of the Annexation Resolutions. Had these men maintained the manly and noble stand they then took, and not been whipped in again at the heels of their slave-holding overseers, they would indeed have been Democrats worthy of the name, and could have pointed to one act of their political lives of which they had justly the right to be proud. But not so thinks Levi D. Slamm, of course. This matter of the "Secret Circular" he denounces as a "plot of treachery, designed to subvert the principles of the Democratic party;" and of the three Democratic members of Congress who voted against the Annexation of Texas, he says: "With that honor, which is supposed to be obligatory on thieves, fulfilled all the obligations of the treasonable compact, in open and flagrant violation of the will of their constituents. They are the members from Onondaga! Albany!! and St. Lawrence!!!"

Of this Texas iniquity, Mr. Dickinson, a Democrat after the Globe's own heart, says:

That elevated policy which has resulted in re-uniting to us an extensive and fertile region of country; a free and independent people, allured by the beauty of our institutions, and won by the arts of peace, has furnished a memorable and instructive chapter in the history of human progress: an imperishable record of the triumph of truth over error—of a liberal and enlightened philosophy over a narrow and bigoted prejudice, and of the ceaseless and onward spirit of the age over that timidity of selfishness which runs only in the grooves of its own formation.

One can hardly believe that this man says this seriously. A more bitter and biting sarcasm on this Annexation plot, began and consummated in defiance of national faith, and in defiance of every principle of morality, republicanism, and Christianity,—if it is not blasphemy to mention the word in such a connection—has never been compressed by its opponent into the same number of lines. We may safely defy the world to produce a more precious set of swindling hypocrites than those same Democrats.

This excellent specimen, Senator Dickinson, says at the close of his letter:

I will cordially join you in inculcating sentiments which shall tend to enlarge the boundaries of rational freedom, and to render its foundations more broad and deep; which shall as well secure to industry its reward, and to labor the bread it has earned, as to the affluent his fair inheritance or honest accumulations; which shall restore to the people as far as is practicable, the appointment of their own servants, and shall simplify and correct all that is involved and erroneous; which shall war with privilege and inequality in whatsoever imposing garb they may appear, or however specious their disguises—which shall raise still higher the standard of morals and of social order, and cause the rich blessings of civil and religious liberty to flow onward—to fertilize and bless the extended domains of humanity.

Now mark his words on restoring the right of suffrage to the colored people:

The right of suffrage is mainly conventional, and the question upon whom it shall be conferred should be determined as well upon principles of justice as of expediency; and while we should not deprive the negro of *his rights*, no mistaken conception of abstract equality should induce us to yield him our own, or attempt thus to compensate him for the bondage of his countrymen.

It is clearly apparent that two races of men, so unlike in physical development, can never associate together in any of the concerns of life upon terms of equality, without that intermingling of relations which degrades both. The mere privilege of bestowing his suffrage, without the right to receive that of his fellow-citizens in return, would prove an idle mockery; and even the right to become such recipient, with the knowledge that through all time it was to be denied in practice, would prove equally valueless and unavailing. It may, by the aid of political traders, embody and congregate the roving and worthless of this unfortunate race, especially previous to important elections, but it will never elevate and ameliorate the condition of the African. He will stand like Tantalus, with his lips to the fountain, without being permitted to taste its blessings. Nor can his condition be essentially improved while he mingles with a people who, however virtuous he may be, cannot and will not extend to him the hand of social equality.

Such sophistry as this is not worthy of an answer. It does not need even to be exposed. The men who can be guilty of it deserve only to be denounced as equally the enemies of the liberty of both black and white. They would as readily deprive the one as the other of all their rights, if, by so doing, they could insure the success of their own paltry ambition. If the two races cannot associate together, where is Mr. Senator Dickinson's commission from Heaven to say that *his* race shall be the oppressor? And if to the negro is denied, in theory and practice, the right to be the recipient of the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, whose fault is that? the law of God, or the law of those usurping Democrats who set the law of God at defiance? But give to the colored people the right to vote, and there will not be found in the land more contemptible flatterers or more obsequious beggars for their votes than these very Slamms, and Dickinsons, and their confederates,

It may be that the Democrats in other parts of the State are not truly represented by those of this city on the suffrage question. We trust it is so, and shall be glad to see any indications of it. Here is a somewhat equivocal one,—the Globe reprimanding the Democrats of Oneida county for neglecting to state their position on the subject. It says:

There is one good, however, to be derived from the renewal of the cession to exhibit Federal sympathies and sentiments; it will purge the Democratic party of the fanaticism which has been creeping into it for years, by separating the negro suffrage fanatics from it, and drive them into the Federal ranks where they belong. We assure our friends in the interior that the Democracy of this portion of the State, including the Democracy of Long Island, will not fraternize with any men or set of men who are in favor of negro suffrage or who blink the question. So deep and pervading is this feeling among all classes and parties here that a Constitution allowing negro suffrage would be almost unanimously rejected.

Mr. Giddings's Speech.

On the outside of this week's paper is Mr. Giddings's speech on the Oregon question. The report of it is evidently a poor one, for the Intelligencer would hardly dare to give all the truths to its readers which Mr. Giddings uttered. The wonder is that it should dare to give even so much. But no doubt it was the manliest—I had almost said the only manly—speech ever uttered on the floor of Congress. Mr. Adams has dealt enough in invective, has said some things that it has stirred one's blood to listen to—or read, on the subject of Slavery, but it has been rather incidentally, and brought forth by the circumstances of the moment, or else the outpourings of the pent-up wrath of the "house of Braintree" against the "house of Monticello," rather than from any fixed principle of opposition to the system because of its inherent wrong. But in this speech Mr. Giddings has spoken in a tone of manly indignation and impatience at the aggressions of the slave-power on the rights of the Northern people, such as our Southern overseers have never before been called to listen to. There seems to be, however, something of the spirit of opposition, and a willingness to give up his own cherished principles, in the hope of injuring the South, which a just and reasonable man cannot approve of, and which is not in accordance with the character which Mr. Giddings has hitherto seemed to bear; but this I hope is rather in the manner of the report than in the matter of the speech. It is not strange, though, indeed, it could hardly be otherwise than that a man who has the heart to speak as Mr. Giddings has spoken, and as every Abolitionist,—as he is,—must, should be spurred, when opportunity offers in which he may be heard, to say things which sober prudence would hardly approve of, and sage expediency would shake her head at. At this, I, for one, shall never complain; but the cause for reasonable indignation is so great, that none need seek an unreasonable cause for it. One more protest is left for Mr. Giddings to make, and which he hints at in this speech; let him walk out of the Representatives' Hall as the members from Texas walk in, and he will have done the most he can in his present position for the true interests of his country, for the rights of the North, and the freedom of the slave. The slavocracy will tremble as it has never yet done when it shall see its Northern supporters abandon it, and leaving them to struggle on as they may with their heavy and accursed Burden.

Plagiarism.

On our first page, under the head of "Peculiar Institution," will be found a story which we copy from the Cortland Village True American, a Liberty party paper, where it was published as original. No doubt our readers will remember that it appeared originally in the Standard. A friend who did not know this, suggested that it be copied into our paper from the American; the mistake was not discovered till the responsible editor read it in proof when it was too late to correct it.

It is possible that this communication may have been sent to the American as well as to the Standard for publication. Will that paper answer the question, whether it was or not? If it can clear itself from the charge of plagiarism we shall be glad to know it.

This petty larceny from the Standard is become quite too common. It is not unusual to meet with our articles in various exchanges, but more especially in the Liberty party papers. Professors of "Bible politics" should have at least the common honesty not to appropriate the labors of others without the usual credit which courtesy demands. We are very glad they should copy from the Standard, for their readers are generally very much in want of sound anti-slavery information and sentiments, but we would like they should know to what quarter they are indebted for it. We warn these pilfering papers that we shall not, for the future, be so remiss in exposing them. This hint, however, we hope will be enough.

Pennsylvania.—The Legislature met at Harrisburg on Tuesday, the 6th inst. The Governor, in his message, informs the Legislature that the efforts to meet the engagements of the State have been successful, and that there are funds enough in the Treasury to meet the February interest.

More Loss of Property.—On the 29th ultimo, at St. Augustine, four negro men, belonging to Abraham Dupont, Esq. were upset in a small boat in the bay, and three of them drowned. Mr. Dupont is supposed to be entirely uninsured.

Massachusetts.—The Legislature met on Wednesday, the 7th instant. Both houses are Whig.

☞ There is to be a meeting of the "New-York Society for the Abolition of Capital Punishment" at the Hall, corner of Lispenard street and Broadway, on Monday evening next.

☞ We omit our usual Congressional Report, and some editorial matter, to make room for Mr. Clay's Speech. Nothing of importance has been done in Congress. The Assembly of this State is in session, and the Governor's Message has been published. We have no room for it or for any comments.

This Week's Paper.

Fourth Page.—*Poetry:* The Portrait—A Ballad; Lines on the Death of Rebecca; Song. *Miscellany:* The Politics of the New Testament (concluded); A Matrimonial Execution; Religion of the Dog; Counting-house Almanac; Register for 1846; Items.

First Page.—*The Peculiar Institution:* A Fugitive's Story. *Pro-Slavery:* Negro Suffrage; The Louisville Journal, &c.; Long Island Railroad. *Selections:* Courage—no; Coolie Immigration; The Oregon Question; Haiti.

Second Page.—Texas and Slavery; Letter from a Marylander; Letter from a Fugitive Slave; The True Character of War; Annexation of the West Indies—The Designs of the South; Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Abolition of the Death Punishment; Bleaching—An Anecdote; Mr. and Mrs. Foster. *Communications:* Letter from Pennsylvania.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Later from Mexico.

The bark Ann Louisa arrived on Thursday from Vera Cruz, whence she sailed on the 14th ult. brings us dates to the 8th of December inclusive, but the papers do not give us such important intelligence as is contained in private letters. A dispatch from Gen. Paredes to the Secretary of War, dated San Louis Potosi, November 26, and announcing his order for the arrest Col. Barrian, for having circulated reports of his [the General's] intention to pronounce for a dictatorship, is the only item we find in the journals, in which the good faith of Gen Paredes is substantiated in an editorial paragraph. We learn that our Minister, Hon. John Slidell, had arrived at the Mexican capital. The sloop-of-war St. Mary's, which carried him out, was to leave Vera Cruz the next day (15th) for Pensacola. The U. S. brig Porpoise, which carried out Wm. S. Parrott, was also at Vera Cruz, waiting orders.

Private letters, however, of the highest authority, dated in the city of Mexico the 4th of December, say, "We are momentarily waiting a revolution, which will take place before to-morrow or next day. Gen. Paredes is at the head." It will be a complete overthrow, it is said, of the present Government—Gen. Paredes will demand three things—First, that war shall be declared against the United States; second, that a new Constitution shall be formed, and third, that the Government shall be put in the hands of three individuals. The Mexican papers are, strange to say, almost silent in everything referring to the state of their country or their relations to our own, and while discussing a change in the Government express themselves as utterly opposed to the revolutionary projects of certain men, to whom the ruin of the country is indifferent.—*Tribune.*

Mexico, Dec. 2.

Texas.—We think it proper to declare that the Republic would be extremely exposed, if war should be commenced on the frontier before having a considerable number of troops in the Californias. Among the ports which the Americans would attack as soon as hostilities should begin, that of Monterey would be assailed with the greatest vigor, and occupied with the greatest facility; and that blow would be the more advantageous to them, because it would facilitate the possession of the Californias, and adjacent departments, while from Vera Cruz and Tampico they could hardly advance a single step from the sea coast.

From the Mexican Patriot of December 2.

California, and California Forever.—We have heard it said that the intended expedition will not march, because the Secretary of the Treasury is persuaded that California must incur the same risk as Texas.

If Mr. Castillo has so false and unfortunate an impression, the error would not be sufficient to prejudice him against the marching of the expeditionary troops. Even if it were thought impossible to prevent the loss of that fine province, he ought not to wait with folded arms, or, with the want of troops, facilitate the farther losses which would certainly succeed.

Has the Minister considered, if it be true as is supposed, that to refrain from sending troops is equivalent to consenting, in the most humiliating manner, that the Americans may appropriate California, New Mexico, and who knows how many other departments? Has he reflected that California is not an estate of his own, of which he can allow himself to be dispossessed, and not the property of the nation, which the Government is most sincerely bound to preserve and defend at all hazards?

But finally, supposing that the Cabinet has decided to suffer patiently the loss of California, tell us frankly whether these military sections will be sent where they may be useful, now long stationed at different points.—We pray the official newspaper to give us some information on these points.

Matamoras, Oct. 29.—By information received from the military commandants at Laredo and Mier, we learn that two more dragoons of the enemy's force at Corpus Christi have arrived, armed and equipped like the first two, and also a soldier of the infantry. It seems that they are Irishmen, and that their coming was occasioned by a conviction of the injustice of the conduct of the American Union toward this Republic. The dragoons belong to a party who were sent out to reconnoiter the passes of the Nueces. In our judgment, this desertion which the enemy suffers will increase.

The Indian hostilities are continuing with horrid barbarity, while the Government is strangely inactive on the subject.

The report of an attempt to assassinate Gen. Santa Anna is contradicted, as the fabulous invention of a worthless Spaniard, with the hope of obtaining a pecuniary reward.

Later from Sierra Leone.—We have received advices from Sierra Leone to the 30th August, and the information in regard to the Slave-Trade is very interesting. It appears from a list published, that during the period between the 1st of April, 1844, and the 17th of May, 1845, sixty vessels were captured, on board of which nearly 5,000 slaves were found; five of these vessels were destroyed and the remainder condemned.

Among the slavers captured was the "Africano." At the time it was taken there were 589, of which number 28 died on her passage to Freetown, and on the first night of her arrival there, thirty more were hurried into eternity. It appeared there were two distinct tribes among the negroes, and during the night they commenced quarrelling, and being mutually exasperated commenced beating each other with billets of wood, and whenever opportunity offered, strangling each other. The next morning *thirty* were found dead, and within two days after, five more died. Five hundred and twenty-four were at length landed, and the Watchman says:

"An eye witness informs us that the poor creatures were so thirsty that they drank the water out of the ends of old canoes, which were hauled up on the beach, surrounding them like so many hounds after a hard chase, each pushing the other for a drop of water. On reaching the African yard, they were supplied with water which they drank out of mess-tubs with avidity. There was no slave-deck on board of this vessel, and several of the poor creatures got jammed between the casks and were severely bruised; these casks formed their beds to lie upon."

The officer of the navy, who brought the "Africano," stated that the towns of Lagos, on the slave-coast, have been completely destroyed. A chief, who was banished from Lagos by the King about three years ago, returned in July last, with a force of ten thousand men, drove out the reigning King and his people, and took possession of the rivers and towns of Onee. It is said that in the contest upwards of *five thousand* persons were slain, and during several nights the glare of burning towns illumined the air for miles around.

Some of the slavers pursued their trade in human flesh with great boldness, and one of them, a large brig, fired into, and beat off, the boats of British and Portuguese men-of-war.

A schooner called "Marequinha," was captured off Lagos, 29th June last. She was sailing under Brazilian colors, and, therefore, could not be condemned. It was, however, a clear case. The Watchman states that the "Marequinha" was formerly a Philadelphia oyster boat, called the "Runner," and was built on the Chesapeake.

The resistance on the part of slavers, has elicited from the British commander a general order, in which it is declared that persons engaged in the Slave-Trade, found resisting the officers on the station, will be immediately and rigorously dealt with according to law.

The proclamation of the appointment of Hon. William Fergusson, as Captain General, and Governor in Chief of Sierra Leone and its dependencies, appears in the Watchman, of July 25th.—*United States Gazette*

Repeal Meeting in Boston.—A great gathering of the Irish population of Boston and vicinity, took place at the Odeon, in that city, on Monday night. According to a Boston paper, every orange woman, wood sawyer, and coal heaver in the place was present, and the cheering, at almost every sentence uttered by the speakers, was tremendous.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward was admitted on Wednesday as an Attorney and Counsellor of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Kidnapper Arrested.—We are glad to learn, says the Raleigh (N. C.) Register, that the white man who stole the child of Wm. Richardson, (a blind free man of color,) with the intent, doubtless, of selling him as a slave, has been arrested in Salisbury, North Carolina, and committed for trial. He gave his name as John Bullock.

Rather Fastidious.—The editor of the Philadelphia Spirit of the Times is put out, because a turbot and saddle of mutton, which were brought over in the Acadia from England, were served up at the Pilgrim Festival! He thinks it was anti-national!!—*Mirror.*

Lo! the poor Indian.—About five thousand Choctaw Indians have crossed the river at Vicksburg, on their way to their new home west of the Mississippi.

A Fair Hit.—As some of the Banner State's worthy sons were recently amusing themselves at Springfield in a meeting for the purchase of Cuba by the General Government, one of the participators threw a wet blanket over the patriotic sentiment of the assemblage by offering a resolution, "That if the President of the United States *should* negotiate a purchase of Cuba, this meeting solemnly advise the State of Illinois to pledge her faith and unsullied honor to promptly pay her proportion of the purchase money." It was laid on the table by a decided vote.—*Chicago Journal.*

A Professor of Phrenology.—Dr. Weir, physician to the Infirmary of Glasgow, has at length been appointed in a chartered University. The Andersonian University of that city has a royal charter. Twelve hundred students, four hundred of whom are medical students, are on its books, and it enjoys all the privileges of the more ancient Universities. This is the first University in Europe that has established a chair expressly for Phrenology. It is expected that Heidelberg will be the next example.

Tribute of Respect to Ex President Tyler.—The ladies of Brazoria county, in the State of Texas, have presented to ex-President John Tyler, as the great champion of Annexation, a beautiful silver pitcher, appropriately inscribed. It reached him on New Year's day.

Complimentary Tribute.—The King of Prussia has transmitted to Dr. Howe of Boston, a medal for "scientific merit," as a testimony of His Majesty's appreciation of Dr. H.'s services in the cause of the Institutions of the Blind, and of his method of instructing the deaf and dumb, who are also blind. The medal is of gold, of large size, and beautiful workmanship. On one side of it is Apollo in his chariot, with four horses, with the zodiac at their feet. On the reverse is the head of the present King, with the legend *Freidr. William IV. Koenig von Preussen.* It is not a little singular that this tribute should come from the country in which Dr. Howe was imprisoned in 1830, for his interest in behalf of the Poles. —*Tribune.*

From St. Domingo.—Captain Barlow, of the ship "Louisa," at Charleston, from St. Domingo, says that he learned, from a source upon which he placed reliance, that Port-au-Platte had been closed, and no vessels were allowed to enter that port. This fact, in connection with the disturbed state of affairs, had induced a number of the merchants at that place to leave for Europe.

NOTICES.

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society—Annual Meeting.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the city of Boston, on the FOURTH WEDNESDAY of the present month, January 28th, 1846. All auxiliary societies are urged to be numerously represented, and the faithful friends of the cause, in all parts of the country, are cordially invited to attend. The crisis demands that this should be the largest and most effective meeting ever held by the Society. "God save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts!"

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.
Edmund Quincy, Secretary.
January 15, 1846.

Parker Pillsbury will lecture as follows:

Lancaster,	Saturday and Sunday,	Jan.	10 and 11
Leominster,	Monday and Tuesday,	"	12 and 13
Lunenburg,	Wednesday,	"	14
Groton,	Thursday,	"	15
Lexington,	Friday,	"	16
Walpole,	Sunday,	"	18
Stoughton,	Monday and Tuesday,	"	19 and 20
North Bridgewater,	Wednesday,	"	21
Middleboro',	Thursday,	"	22
Plympton,	Friday and Saturday,	"	23 and 24
Plymouth,	Sunday,	"	25
Kingston,	Monday,	"	26
Duxbury,	Tuesday,	"	27

☞ As several of the above places are entirely new, it is hoped the friends of the cause in the other towns will be as liberal as possible in their contributions.

PARKER PILLSBURY.
January 15, 1846.

Marlborough Conference.

For the distribution of the pamphlets directed to be printed in the tenth month last, as well as for the consideration of other important subjects which may arise, a meeting will be held at Marlborough, on the Seventh-day, the 24th instant, at 11 o'clock.

The clerks, in consultation with others, have endeavored to fix on a time that might meet the views of Friends generally; it being the week of the Quarterly Meeting, Friends from a distance attending these meetings may think right to be present at the conference.

It may be proper to notice, that our friends Joseph A. and Ruth Dugdale, have in their possession some very interesting Memoirs (having a bearing upon the moral movements of the age) of a deceased sister, who was an active member of the meeting proscribed by the Yearly Meeting in Indiana, for its fidelity to the Anti-Slavery reform, which will be laid before the meeting.

It will be pleasant to see friends from a distance. We feel that the times demand that we take counsel together. Let there be a general attendance, and the amount of good done will be in proportion to the wisdom and prudence of our councils. Be punctual to the *hour*, 11 o'clock.

First month, 4th, 1846.

Friends of Association!

The Annual Meeting of the New England Fourier Society, will be held in Boston, on Tuesday, January 27, at 10 o'clock, A. M. The meeting will be continued during the day and evening. Distinguished advocates of the associative cause will be present and address the meeting. The friends of a reform in the relations of labor and capital, of individual progress, and human improvement, are earnestly requested to be present.

GEORGE RIPLEY, President.
J. Butterfield, Secretary.
January 15, 1846.

CIRCULAR,

IN BEHALF OF THE

PRISONER'S FRIEND.

Dear Sir:—Believing you to be deeply interested in the subject of Capital Punishment, and in the prevention of crime generally, the editors of the Hangman have ventured to address you in reference to their periodical, which has now been established one year for a discussion of those subjects. Having resolved on continuing the publication, they appeal to you for aid, more especially, as they intend to make several improvements, which they will briefly relate. In conformity to the suggestion of many, they have resolved on changing the name to "Prisoner's Friend."

Already have they incurred a considerable expense to procure a splendidly engraved title.

Every effort will be made to make it rank with any of the leading journals of the day, and every way worthy of the beautiful title which it bears. Every sentiment of an immoral tendency will be excluded, so that it will be rendered an acceptable family newspa

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE PORTRAIT.—A BALLAD.

BY EMMALINE EVANS.

I.

Pale twilight's veil fell shrouding,
With gloom a pictured hall,
Its rainbow hues o'erclouding
As by a mournful pall;
Grim warrior's plume no more was seen—
Nor wreath of lady fair,
And I sadly sighed o'er the faded scene,
As I wandered lonely there.

II.

Not all alone, for a rosy smile,
From the parting god of day,
Gleamed through the roof of the ancient pile,
And fell on an Abbé gray;
And back from his high uplifted brow,
And his calm, and gentle eyes,
A holy radiance seemed to flow;—
I bent in mute surprise.

III.

Uprising on the dewy air,
Sweet odors floated round,
From the snowy cup of the lily fair,
And the violet purpled ground.
I questioned low. "Oh! holy man!
Why is thy face so bright,
When the victor's wreath, and the kingly crown,
Are pale in the darkening night?

IV.

And unseen lips replied to mine,
(As if from a shadowy throng,)
"His smile is lit by a love divine,
A spirit meek and strong.
For darkened to our close sealed eyes,
Was the golden sun's glad beam,
The azure of the summer skies,
And the valley's robe of green

V.

"Yet not for *these* did our mournful soul
Pour out the unseen tear,
We wept for the light of the BURNING SCROLL,
For the words of the Saviour dear.
And to our sorrowing prayer was given,
This blessed lamp of joy.
(To light our darkling steps to heaven,)
By the hands of the Abbé Hauy.*"

VI.

Ah! well may the sunbeam linger long,
And well, may the good man smile,
As the radiant forms of that pictured throng,
Grow dim in the mouldering pile.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 30, 1845.

* Abbe Hauy founded the first institution for the instruction of the blind at Paris.

ON THE DEATH OF REBECCA.

BY A NORTH CAROLINA SLAVE.

Thou delicate blossom! thy short race is ended,
Thou sample of virtue and prize of the brave!
No more are thy beauties by mortals attended,
They now are but food for the worms and the grave.

Thou art gone to the tomb, whence there's no returning
And left us behind in a vale of suspense;
In vain to the dust do we follow thee mourning,
The same doleful trump will soon call us all hence.

I view thee now launched on eternity's ocean,
Thy soul how it smiles as it floats on the wave;
It smiles as if filled with the softest emotion,
But looks not behind on the frowns of the grave.

The messenger came from afar to relieve thee—
In this lonesome valley no more shalt thou roam;
Bright seraphs now stand on the banks to receive thee,
And cry, "Happy stranger, thou art welcome at home."

Thouart gone to a feast, while thy friends are bewailing,
Oh, death is a song to the poor ransom'd slave;
Away with bright visions the spirit goes sailing,
And leaves the frail body to rest in the grave.

Rebecca is free from the pains of oppression,
No friends could prevail with her longer to stay;
She smiles on the fields of eternal fruition,
Whilst death like a bridegroom attends her away.

She is gone in the whirlwind—ye seraphs attend her;
Through Jordan's cold torrent her mantle may lave;
She soars in the chariot, and earth falls beneath her,
Resign'd in a shroud to a peaceable grave.

From the Weekly Mirror.

A GEM OF POETRY.

The lady to whom the following verses—never before published—were addressed, known to the readers of Burns as "the blue-eyed lassie," is one of a race whose beauties and virtues formed, for several generations, the inspiration of the masters of Scottish song. Her mother was the Agnes Armstrong in whose honor the touching words and beautiful air of 'Roslin Castle" were composed, and "Fairlie fair" was her more remote progenetrix.

We are happy that it is in our power to publish these lines, as a stupid error is now going the rounds of the press, by which the lady in question, is confounded with the peasant love of Burns's youth, "Highland Mary." We call the error stupid, because no one who has ever heard of Burns ought to be ignorant that Highland Mary died while plighted to him as a wife, whereas the lady of whom we speak still lives, honored and respected, among us. Her father, an eminent clergyman of the Church of Scotland, was one of the few in the higher ranks of society who, during his life, properly appreciated the genius and character of Burns, and the poems he addressed to her were the homage which a poet, married, and the father of children, nearly as old as herself, may, in all propriety and honor, pay to the opening charms of the daughter of a revered and valued friend.

SONG.

BY BURNS.

Never before published.—AIR—*Maggy Lauder.*

When first I saw fair Jeanie's face,
I couldna tell what ailed me,
My heart went flutt'ring pit-a-pat,
My een, they almost failed me.
She's ay sae neat, sae trim, sae tight,
All grace does round her hover,
Ae look deprived me o' my heart,
And I became a lover.
She's ay, ay, sae blythe, sae gay,
She's ay sae blythe and cheerie,
She's ay sae bonny, blythe, and gay,
Oh! gin I were her dearie.

Had I Dundas' whole estate,
Or Hopetoun's wealth to shine in,
Did warlike laurels crown my brow,
Or humbler bays entwining,
I'd lay them a' at Jeanie's feet,
Could I but hope to move her,
And prouder than a belted knight,
I'd be my Jeanie's lover.
She's ay, ay, sae blythe, sae gay,
She's ay sae blythe and cheerie,
She's ay sae bonny, blythe, and gay,
Oh! gin I were her dearie.

But sair I fear, some happier swain
Has gained sweet Jeanie's favor,
If so, may every bliss be her's
Though I maun never have her.
But gang she east, or gang she west,
Twixt Forth and Tweed all over,
Where men have eyes, or ears, or taste,
She'll always find a lover.
She's ay, ay, sae blythe, sae gay,
She's ay sae blythe and cheerie,
She's ay sae bonny, blythe, and gay,
Oh! gin I were her dearie.

Miscellany.

From Tait's Edinburgh Magazine.

THE POLITICS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

[CONCLUDED.]

A still more delicate inquiry opens on us, in this connection. Is *Royalty*, as now administered, if thus tested, a Christian institution? Looking at the manifold and sore temptations to pride, sloth, self-indulgence, self-willedness, and hard-heartedness, incident to a *status* which hedges round, as with a sort of divinity, a fallible, imperfect (perhaps vicious and worthless) mortal; places him in artificial and false relations to his fellow-men; blunts his human sympathies by excluding from his ken the realities of human action and suffering: raises him above the possibility of anything like a free and equal friendship, removes him out of the hearing of disagreeable truths, softens down his vices into venial foibles, and exaggerates the most common-place amiabilities of temper or manner into extraordinary virtues,—it seems fairly open to a question whether the monarchical institution is one that could exist in a thoroughly Christianized community. Has society a right, for the sake of any mere temporal and political convenience, (real or supposed,) to subject a human creature to such tremendous moral disadvantages? The query may strike some readers as a rather unorthodox one, but we have good episcopal authority for it. In a sermon by the present Bishop of London, we find the sad case of sovereigns stated in a way that cannot but awaken the keenest sympathies, and seems calculated even to alarm the conscience of society. After a feeling exhibition of the all-but-unbearable load of political anxieties and responsibilities that presses upon crowned heads, the Bishop proceeds:—"But all these disadvantages, and difficulties, and cares, are of little moment, compared with the dangers which surround the wearer of a crown, considered as a servant of God, a steward of his household, a member of Christ's Church, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven. How difficult to *them*, above all other persons, must it be to realize the precept, 'Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world,' when the world so assiduously spreads all its most seductive temptations before them, and courts their enjoyment of its pleasures. With every wish anticipated, or gratified as soon as expressed, with an unrestricted command of all the resources of luxury and art, living within a fence of ceremony and observance which the voice of truth can hardly penetrate, and even when heard at distant intervals, perhaps may shock by its unwonted and unwelcome sound; how is it possible for them not to become 'lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God?' How can they be brought to learn the peculiar lessons which *must* be learned by all the disciples of that Master who said, 'Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart?'* The right reverend preacher is, it must be confessed, less happy in his solution of the problem, than in the statement of it. He tells us plainly, *it is a case for omnipotence*:—'Our Saviour's answer to his disciples, when they inquired how any rich man could be saved, must be ours. 'With men it is impossible, but not with God; for with God all things are possible.' . . . . He can endow the mightiest monarch with the graces of the lowliest saint. This is, indeed, one of the noblest triumphs of his almighty power."

From all which the Bishop makes out a strong argument for "the duty of prayer, and intercession for our rulers." The conclusion strikes us, however, as being much narrower than the premises warrant and require. Have we any right, as a Christian community, to place our rulers in such a predicament that their salvation becomes (humanly speaking) an impossibility, a subject for the noblest triumphs of almighty power? is an inquiry which the Episcopal reasoning irresistibly suggests. The moral and religious grievances of the sovereign class seem like the physical and social grievances of the negro-slave class, or the factory-child class, to call for some more tangible and mundane mode of redress than "prayer and intercession." Our preacher takes too desponding a tone. He treats the royal soul as though it were already *in extremis*, rejects all ordinary medical appliances as unavailing, and has nothing to recommend for his spiritual patient but the administration of the last rites of the Church. The writer of the above-quoted condemnation of the monarchical institution ought, in consistency, to be, if not a downright republican, at least a most strenuous advocate of whatever tends to the relaxation or abandonment of an etiquette adverse to Christian sincerity, the curtailment of prerogatives perilous to Christian humility, and the retrenchment of a splendor incompatible with Christian simplicity and spirituality. Yet after all, why talk of royalty, when there is Episcopacy? The Bishop's own case is one of the hardest.—Twenty thousand pounds sterling *per annum* for life, with palaces, patronage, and perquisites—surely there is matter here for the exercise of "the duty of prayer and intercession." What spiritual dangers can be compared with those which "surround the wearer of a" mitre, "considered as a servant of God, a steward of his household, a member of Christ's Church, and an inheritor of the kingdom of Heaven? How difficult to *them*, above all persons, must it be to realize the precept," &c.

In virtue of this principle of the *sacredness of the individual*, the Christian Gospel is a vast regenerative, revolutionizing force, permeating the whole structure of society and its institutions. We are learning to feel that even the criminal is within the scope of its operation. The "vindicative" theory of punishment—which sacrifices the individual to the passions of the community—is now pretty well exploded; and the "exemplary" theory—which sacrifices the individual to the interests of the community—is less exclusively insisted on, than it was: we modify it with a large admixture of the "reformatory" theory, in which the individual is paramount. The feeling gains ground in society every year, and from time to time, expresses itself in legislation, that whatever rights the criminal may have forfeited, he cannot forfeit his right to the means of moral improvement; and that any punishment, however well-deserved and exemplary, is essentially defective if it be not adapted to promote (otherwise than in the ecclesiastical court's fashion) the soul's health of the offender. That punishment which dismisses the culprit from the world as an incurable—cuts him off from all opportunity and possibility of restoration, with the miserable mockery of a judicial prayer, that "the Lord may have mercy on his soul"—is gradually dropping into desuetude; and society seems less and less willing to despair of the moral amendment of those who have most deeply sinned against it.

The Christian doctrine of human brotherhood, so nobly enunciated by St. Paul at Athens—"God hath made of one blood all nations of men"—this doctrine of the unity of the human race, in nature, in rights, and in destination, is a distinct condemnation of another point in the politics of heathenism; if indeed, it be fair to charge on the poor heathen, vices which have been faithfully copied, with additions and improvements, by every Christian nation under the sun. We speak of that exaggerated and exclusive *patriotism*, which treads down, without a scruple, the rights of weaker rivals, and counts all things fair in war. On the hackneyed objection to Christianity, that it does not inculcate patriotism, we need not waste a word: to this sort of patriotism—whether it take the form of military aggression, or of diplomatic lying and chicane—Christianity stands, without a question, in strong antagonism. Of the politics of the New Testament, a great first principle is international justice, sincerity, and magnanimity—the subordination of all mere national interests, or supposed and seeming interests, to the one eternal, impartial law of right. Will it be said, that this is a truism, scarcely needing a special and formal statement? Unfortunately the truism is not yet allowed by our rulers to pass as a truth—not even in the abstract. The present prime minister of this Christian empire, which has its missionaries and its Bibles out at the ends of the earth, converting the heathen, does not hold, even in the abstract, that barbarian, Scythian, bond, and free, are one in the eye of God and God's law. He does not hold that the moral law of nations is an equal and impartial law. He believes not in the Christian faith that, as God has made all nations of one blood, so he has subjected all to one rule of right. He believes rather, in the heathen faith, that there is "some great uncontrollable principle at work" in the intercourses of civilization with barbarism,† which "demands a different course of conduct to be pursued" from that which the principle of Christian equity demands. He believes, in short, that the political morality of the New Testament, though all very well in its way and place—among gentlemen and gentlemanlike nations—will not do at the antipodes: the rule of doing to others as we would that others should do to us, is inapplicable to the peculiar and complicated circumstances of our Indian empire. A more heathenish doctrine than this of the "great uncontrollable principle" for dispensing with principle when and where convenient, could not be devised; it is worthy of some old robbing and murdering Roman general or proconsul. And the thing passed in our Christian House of Commons, with only an honest word or two of protest from one or two voices, went quietly through the press along with the rest of the day's news, and circulated over the Christian country without a syllable of objection from the Christian bishops, priests, and deacons. There was no clerical agitation got up against the great uncontrollable principle, as there was against the Whig Churchrate and Education schemes—nothing said about converting Sir Robert Peel, and his majority, to the Christian religion. Our ecclesiastical Christianity has other work on hand, of a more interesting kind—mounting guard on Irish tithes, and barricading the universities against Dissenters. Its solicitude for the soul's health of the people is all expended on recusant rate-payers.

It must be allowed that the Christianity of this country rarely appears to much advantage in our politics. On nearly every one of the public questions which politicians make religious questions, the Christianity of our legislators—those of them who are most given to talk about their Christianity—will be found on the wrong side. The Christian religion is seldom brought into politics except to do mischief, to stop the way of rational and beneficent legislation. Our political and parliamentary Christianity is a Christianity that is fond of extending the list of the theological *mala prohibita*. It is never so well pleased as when it is restricting somebody from doing or enjoying something: there are men who would not, if they could help it, let poor people do the very thing that Jesus Christ himself did—walk through the fields on the Sabbath day.* It is an obstructive and teasing, a frivolous and vexatious Christianity. It stops the people from being educated. In the present state of opinion and feeling on this subject, there is positively nothing in the way of a large and effectual measure of universal education, except our ecclesiastical and sectarian Christianity: the thing might be done to-morrow, but that the Jews of the established church will have no dealings with the Samaritans of dissent. It is a Christianity that makes a conscience of keeping Ireland, year after year, at the boiling point of peaceable and constitutional insurrection, rather than relinquish its uppermost room at the feast of fat things, and its chief seat in courts and parliaments. It is a Christianity that cannot live without its orthodox hands in heretical pockets. Church surplices must be washed and mangled, church organs tuned, church clocks wound up, and church roofs new slated, at the cost and charge of the people who do not go to church:—and they call that *paying a peppercorn rent to God*. It is a meddling, busy-bodied Christianity, about trifles or things indifferent, and politely dumb in view of evils which it ought to denounce with voice of thunder. The Church has not a word to say against the iniquity of taxing the poor man's bread, to swell the rich man's rent, or starving the poor man's stomach to pay the rich man's parson. Our political Christianity lifts up its voice, not against fraud, hypocrisy, oppression, class-legislation, and the spirit of wickedness in high places—but against heresy, schism, unbelief, and misbelief; forgetting that the "Woe, woe unto you" of the Founder of the Christian Church was pointed, not at the Samaritan schismatics or the Sadducee infidels, but at the orthodox, duly consecrated, and legitimately ordained "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites."

The political ideas and principles of the New Testament, like all other great moral truths, tend ever—with an inherent, resistless, though slowly working force—to their own realization. It says nothing against this, that we have had Christianity in the world these eighteen hundred years, without having yet properly learned one of its lessons. We have had the sun and moon these six thousand years, day unto day uttering speech, and night unto night showing knowledge—and we have not yet learned *their* religion. The Christian Gospel of brotherhood and spiritual equality, in the laborious slowness of its progress, the limitation of its influence, and the extent and seeming inveteracy of its corruptions, only shares the fate of other moral truths. Meanwhile, it furnishes us with abundant encouragement, under the tardy and imperfect character of its own successes. The symbols in which its Founder pictured its future progress are indicative, not of miraculous metamorphosis, but of natural growth—"first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear:" nor are the enemy and his tares forgotten. Truly, "there are many Antichrists," as the Apostle says; and their power is great as their natures are various:—the Antichrist of Mammon, the Antichrist of aristocracy, and class-legislation, the Antichrist of spiritual tyranny, the Antichrist of Pharisaism and hypocrisy, the Antichrist of the "great uncontrollable principle" that loves a gainful iniquity better than a losing honesty. But the Politics of the New Testament—the politics of justice and mercy, of spiritual liberty and equality—are stronger than all the Antichrists together. The Christian Gospel is, at this moment, all external hindrances and internal corruptions notwithstanding, the mightiest moral force we have, both as a conservator and destroyer. There are no signs of old age upon it. It can, in truth, grow old only when the world grows old.—The nations of the European family received it in their infancy; and, in the life of nations, as of the individual, those are the vital and enduring characteristics which are impressed during the age of early, rapid growth. The religion, whose author loved, under the title of Son of Man, to identify himself with universal humanity; the religion which began its life with putting down polygamy, gladiatorship, serfdom, and other such abominations; which, in our own time, has reformed our penal code, stopped our Slave-Trade, emancipated our slaves, and is still fighting the good fight beyond the Atlantic, showing abundant signs, by the way, where the real strength lies; this religion, which, despite of all the corruptions that have been fastened on it, and all the crimes that have been perpetrated in its name, has ever been a civilizing influence in the midst of barbarism, and a moralizing influence in the heart of an effeminate and artificial civilization, will live while any part of its benign mission remains unaccomplished—will live till it has exorcised all the evil spirits that haunt and vex the world. The moral ideas that constitute the life of Christianity contain within themselves the promise and programme of our age to come.

The world has long since had out its laugh at the Fifth-monarchy men. The notion of those people has, indeed, a sufficiently grotesque look, as clad in the garb of the century before last; yet the idea is a grand and true one—of a kingdom different from the old kingdoms of the world, ruled by other laws, and in another spirit—a kingdom of heaven, a reign of truth and right, a republic of the Virtues, a universal *Tugendbund*. In another name, and under another form the world will have its Fifth Monarchy yet. Such, at least, is our reading of the Politics of the New Testament.

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doctrine as that which we proceed to quote, but that only one or two men should be found, in the whole House of Commons, to protest against it as it deserves; and that the shameless vindication of a flagitious public crime should have been attended by no perceptible loss of character to the statesman who gave utterance to it:—

"We may lay down what positions we please, with respect to the propriety of observing in our Indian policy the same rules and principles which are observed between European States—we may pass acts of Parliament interdicting the Governor-General from extending his territories by conquest; but I am afraid there is some great principle at work where civilization and refinement come in contact with barbarism, which makes it impossible to apply the rules observed towards more advanced nations; more especially when civilization and refinement come in contact with barbarism in an immensely extended country. . . . . Whatever may be the principle which may regulate the conduct of civilized nations when coming in contact with each other, I am afraid that when civilization and barbarism come in contact, there is some uncontrollable principle of a very different description, which demands a different course of conduct to be pursued."—*Sir Robert Peel's Speech on the Ameers of Scinde, February* 8, 1844.

* "The Duty of Prayer and Intercession for our Rulers," a Sermon, by Charles James, Lord Bishop of London. 1838.

† In recalling attention to the following piece of unblushing Machiavelism, recently uttered by the most decorous and guarded of our public men, we do not mean to cast any special blame on Sir Robert Peel. He is not, that we know, a worse man in his theory, than the average of our diplomatists and politicians; and, in some points, he is a better man in his practice than many who talk more about their Christianity. The real evil is, not that one man should be found to enunciate such a

* Their zeal for Sabbath preservation, accurately interpreted, means zeal for preserving their own rabbits and turneps.

From Punch's Pocket-Book.

A MATRIMONIAL EXECUTION.

This morning, April 1st, at half-past eleven precisely, the unfortunate young man, Mr. Edwin Pinkney, underwent the extreme penalty of infatuation, by expiating his attachment to Mary Ann Gale, in front of the altar railings of St. Mary's Church, Islington.

It will be in the recollection of all those friends of the parties who were at the Jones party, at Brixton, two years ago, that Mr. Pinkney was there, and there first introduced to Mary Ann, to whom he instantly began to direct particular attention, dancing with her no less than six sets that evening, and handing her things at supper in the most devoted manner. From that period commenced the intimacy between them, which terminated in this morning's catastrophe.

Poor Pinkney had barely attained to his twenty-eighth year; but there is reason to believe, that, but for the reasons of a pecuniary nature, his single life would have earlier come to an untimely end. A change for the better, however, having occurred in his circumstances, the young lady's friends were induced to sanction his addresses, and thus to become accessories to the course for which he had just suffered.

The unhappy man passed the last night of his bachelor existence in his solitary chamber. From half-past eight to ten, he was busily engaged in writing letters. Shortly after ten o'clock, his younger brother, Henry, knocked at the door, when the doomed youth told him in a firm voice, to come in. On being asked when he meant to go to-bed, he replied, "Not yet." The question was then put to him how he thought he should sleep, to which his answer was, "I don't know." He then expressed a desire for a cigar and a glass of grog, which were supplied him. His brother, who sat down and partook of the like refreshment, now demanded if he would want any thing more that night. He said "Nothing," in a firm voice. His affectionate brother then rose to take leave, when the devoted one considerately advised him to take care of himself.

Precisely at a quarter of a minute to seven, the next morning, the victim of Cupid having been called, according to his desire, rose and promptly dressed himself. He had the self-control to shave himself without the slightest injury; for not even a scratch upon his chin appeared after the operation. It would seem that he had devoted a longer time to his toilet than usual.

The wretched individual was attired in a light blue dress coat, with frosted metal buttons, and white waistcoat, nankeen trowsers, with patent leather boots. He wore round his neck a variegated satin scarf, which partially concealed the corazza of his bosom. In front of the scarf was inserted a breastpin of very conspicuous dimensions. Having descended the staircase with a quick step, he entered the apartment where his brother and a few friends were awaiting him. He shook hands cordially with all present; and, on being asked how he had slept, answered, "Very well," and, to the further demands as to his state of mind, he said "he felt happy."

One of the party having hereupon suggested that it would be as well to take something before the melancholy ceremony was gone through, he exclaimed, with some emphasis, "Decidedly." Breakfast was accordingly served, when he ate the whole of the French roll, a large round of toast, two sausages, and three new laid eggs, which he washed down with two great breakfast cups of tea. In reply to an expression of astonishment on the part of a person present, at his appetite, he declared he never felt it heartier in his life.

Having inquired the time, and ascertained that it was ten minutes to eleven, he remarked that "it would soon be over." His brother then inquired if he could do anything for him, when he said he should like a glass of ale. Having drank this, he appeared satisfied.

The fatal moment now approaching, he devoted the remaining brief portion of his time to distributing among his friends those little articles which he would soon no longer want. To one, he gave his cigar case, to another his tobacco stopper: and charged his brother Henry with his latch-key, with instructions to deliver it, after all was over, with due solemnity, to his landlady.

The clock at length struck eleven, and at the same moment he was informed that a cab was at the door. He merely said, "I am ready," and allowed himself to be conducted to the vehicle, into which he got with his brother, his friends following in two others.

Arrived at the tragical spot, a short but anxious delay of some seconds took place, after which they were joined by the lady, with her friends. Little was said on either side; but Miss Gale, with customary decorum, shed tears. Pinkney endeavored to preserve a composure; but a slight twitching of his mouth and eyebrows, proclaimed his inward agitation.

The ill-starred bachelor having submitted quietly to have a large white bow pinned to his button-hole, now walked side by side with Miss Gale, with a firm step, to the altar. He surveyed the imposing preparation with calmness, and gazed, unmoved, on the clergyman, who, assisted by the clerk, was waiting behind the railings.

All requisite preliminaries having now been settled, and the prescribed melancholy formalities gone through, the usual question was put, "Wilt thou have this woman for thy wife?" to which the rash youth replied, in a distinct voice, "I will." He then put the fatal ring upon Miss Gale's finger; the hymenial noose was adjusted; and the poor fellow was launched into—matrimony.

RELIGION OF THE DOG.

The following original anecdote of Burns, is in a work entitled, "The Philosophy of the Seasons," by Rev. Henry Duncan:

"I well remember with what delight I listened to an interesting conversation which, while yet a school-boy, I enjoyed an opportunity of hearing in my father's manse, between the poet Burns and another poet, my near relation, the amiable Blacklock. The subject was the fidelity of the dog. Burns took up the question with all the ardor and kindly feeling with which the conversation of that extraordinary man was so remarkably imbued. It was a subject well suited to call forth his powers; and when handled by such a man, not less suited to interest the youthful fancy. The anecdotes by which it was illustrated have long escaped my memory; but there was one sentiment expressed by Burns with his characteristic enthusiasm which, as it threw a new light into my mind, I shall never forget. "Man," said he, "is the God of the dog. He knows no other; he can understand no other; and see how he worships him! With what reverence he crouches at his feet; with what love he fawns upon him, with what dependence he looks up to him, and with what cheerful alacrity he obeys him. His whole soul is wrapped up in his God; and the powers and faculties of his nature are devoted to his service; and these powers and faculties are exalted by the intercourse. It ought just to be so with the Christian: but the dogs put the Christians to shame."

Counting-House Almanac.

1846.	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed	Thurs	Friday	Sat.
JAN'Y.					1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
FEB'Y.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
MAR'H	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30	31				
APRIL.				1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30		
MAY.						1	2
	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
	31						
JUNE		1	2	3	4	5	6
	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
	28	29	30				

1846.	Sun.	M.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday	Sat.
JULY				1	2	3	4
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30	31	
AUG.							1
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
	30	31					
SEPT.			1	2	3	4	5
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	27	28	29	30			
OCT.					1	2	3
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
NOV.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
	29	30					
DEC.			1	2	3	4	5
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
	27	28	29	30	31		

REGISTER FOR 1846.

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

[NOVEMBER 1st, 1845.]

EXECUTIVE.—PRESIDENT AND CABINET.

JAMES K. POLK, of Tenn. *President*,	Salary	$25,000
GEO. M. DALLAS, of Pa. *Vice-President*,	"	6,000
JAS. BUCHANAN, of Pa. *Sec'y of State*,	"	6,000
ROBT. J. WALKER, Miss. *Sec. Treas.*,	Salary	6,000
WM. L. MARCY, of N. Y. *Secretary of War*,	"	6,000
GEO. BANCROFT, of Mass *Sec'y of Navy*,	"	6,000
JOHN Y. MASON, of Va. *Attorney-General*,	"	4,000
CAVE JOHNSON, of Tenn. *Postmaster-Gen.*	"	6,000

JUDICIARY.—SUPREME COURT.

ROGER B. TANEY, of Md. *Chief Justice*,	Salary	$5,000	
S. NELSON, N.Y. *Ass. Justice*.		J. M. WAYNE, Ga. *Ass. Just.*	
L. WOODBURY, N.H.	"	J. MCKINLEY, Ala.	"
J. MCLEAN, Ohio,	"	WM. CATRON, Tenn.	"
——, Penn.,	"	P. V. DANIEL, Va.	"

[Salary of Associate Justices, $4,500.]

Major-General of the Army—WINFIELD SCOTT of N.J.

XXIXth CONGRESS.

Assembled December 1st, 1845; Expires March 3d, 1847.

SENATE:

GEORGE M. DALLAS, of Pennsylvania, *President.*

Members.	*Term Expires*	*Members.*	*Term Expires*
MAINE.		GEORGIA.	
George Evans	1847	*John McP. Berrien*	1846
John Fairfield	1851	Walter T. Colquitt	1849
NEW-HAMPSHIRE.		ALABAMA.	
Benning W. Jenness*	1847	Dixon H. Lewis	1847
Charles G. Atherton	1849	Arthur P. Bagby	1849
VERMONT.		MISSISSIPPI.	
William Upham	1849	Joseph W. Chalmers*	1847
Samuel S. Phelps	1851	Jesse Speight	1851
MASSACHUSETTS.		LOUISIANA.	
Daniel Webster	1847	*Alexander Barrow*	1847
John Davis	1851	*Henry Johnson*	1849
RHODE ISLAND.		TENNESSEE.	
James F. Simmons	1847	*Spencer Jarnagin*	1847
Albert C. Greene	1851	Hopkins L. Turney	1851
CONNECTICUT.		KENTUCKY.	
John M. Niles	1849	*James T. Morehead*	1847
Jabez W. Huntington	1851	*John J. Crittenden*	1849
NEW YORK.		OHIO.	
John A. Dix	1847	William Allen	1849
Daniel S. Dickinson	1851	*Thomas Corwin*	1851
NEW JERSEY.		INDIANA.	
Jacob W. Miller	1847	Edward A. Hannegan	1849
William L. Dayton	1851	Jesse D. Bright	1851
PENNSYLVANIA.		ILLINOIS.	
Simon Cameron	1849	James Semple	1847
Daniel Sturgeon	1851	Sidney Breese	1849
DELAWARE.		MISSOURI.	
Thomas Clayton	1847	David K. Atchison	1849
John M. Clayton	1851	Thomas H. Benton	1851
MARYLAND.		ARKANSAS.	
James A. Pearce	1849	Chester Ashley	1847
Reverdy Johnson	1851	Ambrose H. Sevier	1849
VIRGINIA.		MICHIGAN.	
William S Archer	1847	*William Woodbridge*	1847
Isaac S. Pennybacker	1851	Lewis Cass	1851
NORTH CAROLINA.		FLORIDA.	
Willie P. Mangum	1847	James D. Westcott	1849
Wm. H. Hayward, Jr	1849	David Levy	1851
SOUTH CAROLINA.			
John C. Calhoun	1847		

[Whigs, in *Italics*, 24; Democrats, in Roman, 30.]

* Appointed by the Governor.

GOVERNORS OF STATES AND TERRITORIES—1846:

WITH THEIR TERMS OF OFFICE AND SALARIES.

States.	*Governors.*	*Expires.*	*Salary.*
Maine	Hugh J. Anderson	1847	1,500
New Hampshire	John H. Steele	1846	1,000
Vermont	*William Slade*	1846	750
Massachusetts	*George N. Briggs*	1847	2,500
Rhode Island	*Charles Jackson*	1846	400
Connecticut	*Roger S. Baldwin*	1646	1,100
New-York	Silas Wright	1847	4,000
New Jersey	*Charles C. Stratton*	1848	2,000
Pennsylvania	Francis R. Shunk	1848	3,000
Delaware	*Thomas Stockton*	1849	1,333
Maryland	*Thomas G. Pratt*	1848	4,200
Virginia	William Smith	1849	3,333
North Carolina	*Wm. A. Graham*	1847	2,000
South Carolina	William Aiken	1846	3,500
Georgia	*Geo. W. Crawford*	1847	3.500
Alabama	Josh. L. Martin, *Ind*	1847	3,500
Mississippi	Albert G. Brown	1846	3,000
Louisiana	Alexander Mouton	1846	6,000
Arkansas	Thomas S. Drew	1848	2.000
Tennessee	Aaron V. Brown	1847	2.000
Kentucky	*William Owsley*	1848	2,500
Ohio	*Mordecai Bartley*	1846	1,500
Indiana	Thomas J. Whitcomb	1846	1,500
Illinois	Thomas Ford	1846	1,000
Missouri	John C. Edwards	1848	1,500
Michigan	John S. Barry	1846	1.500
Florida	Wm. D. Moseley	1847	2,500
Texas			
Territories.			
Iowa*	James Clark	1847	2,500
Wisconsin	Henry Dodge	1847	2,500

NOTE.—The Governors in all the States are elected by the people, except *Virginia* and *South Carolina*, which are elected by the Legislatures.

The names in *Italics* are Whigs.

* Admitted into the Union March 1, 1845, but have twice rejected the terms of admission by the popular vote.

AMERICAN STATES.

From the American Almanac for 1846.

Republics of North America.

	Population.	Capitals.	Presidents.
U. States	17,069,453	Washington,	Jas. K. Polk.
Mexico	7,723,000	Mexico,	Gen. de Herrera.
Cent'l Am	2,000,000	San Salvador,	
Yucatan	580,948	Merida,	Mig'l Barbachano.
Hayti	933,600	Cape Haytien,	Gen. Louis Pierrot.
Republics of South America.			
Arg. Rep	1,000,000	Buenos Ayres,	Don J.M. de Rosas.
Peru	1,700,000	Lima,	General Gamarra.
N. Grenada	1,931,684	Bogata	General Herran.
Bolivia	1,030,000	Chuquisaca,	General Ballivian.
Chili	1,200,000	Santiago,	General Bulnes,
Venezuela	900 000	Caraccas,	General Paez.
Equador	600,000	Quito.	
Paraguay	300,000	Ass